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University of Oxford

COLLEGE HISTORIES

NEW COLLEGE

BY

HASTINGS RASHDALL, M.A. (Oxon.), D.C.L. (Dunelm.)

FELLOW AND TUTOR OF NEW COLLEGE
PREACHER OF LINCOLN'S INN

AND

ROBERT S. RAIT, B.A. (Oxon.), M.A. (Aberdon.)

FELLOW AND LECTURER OF NEW COLLEGE

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PREFACE

THIS book was originally undertaken by Mr. Rashdall. Being at the time occupied with other literary work, he was unable to begin it till the series was approaching completion. To expedite the fulfilment of his task, Mr. Rait consented to assist in the work. The chapter on the College buildings and that on the 'Age of Reform' have been for the most part written by Mr. Rait, the rest by Mr. Rashdall; but Mr. Rait's collaboration has extended to the whole of the work.

It may be convenient here to give a short account of the materials at our disposal. It must be confessed that, considering the long life and importance of the College, the amount of interesting matter available is disappointingly small.

The original sources for the life of the founder are a short account written in a copy of Pope Nicholas' Taxation for Adam of Orlton, Bishop of Winchester from 1333 to 1345, and another prefixed to the Register of Winchester College, written by Robert Heete, a Fellow of that College, and dated 'the twentieth year after the death of the said father'—*i.e.*, 1424. The MS. Life in the possession of New College, attributed

to Warden Chandler, but in all probability only corrected by him, adds little but rhetoric to the information contained in these two sources. It contains, however, some interesting pictures, one of which is reproduced in the present volume. The first printed Life is Martin's 'Historica Descriptio Complectens vitam ac res gestas Guillelmi Wicami,' Londini, 1597. There are two scholarly biographies by Bishop Lowth (London, 1758), a work of much research, and G. H. Moberly (Winchester, 1887). But the most valuable authorities for Wykeham's life are now Mr. Tait's article in the 'Dictionary of National Biography,' and the 'History of Winchester College,' by Mr. Arthur F. Leach (New York, 1899), to both of which we are much indebted.

On the College itself, the only considerable book is Mackenzie Walcott's 'William of Wykeham and his Colleges' (London, 1852), which contains much valuable information, but cannot be said to be based on a real study of the MS. materials for the history of the College, and leaves out much that is important. Two short notices have been published by Mr. Rashdall in his work on 'The Universities of Europe in the Middle Ages' (Oxford, 1895) and 'The Colleges of Oxford' (ed. Andrew Clark, 1891). Mr. Kirby's 'Winchester Scholars' (London, 1888), a full list with some notices of their subsequent careers, has been of great value.

Among the general authorities for the history of the University it will be enough to mention Antony Wood's 'History and Antiquities of the University of Oxford' (ed. Gutch, 1792), 'History of the Colleges of Oxford' (ed. Gutch, 1776), and 'Athenæ Oxonienses' (ed. Bliss,

1813-20), and Ingram's 'Memorials of Oxford' (Oxford, 1837). Wood's 'Athenæ' being our chief authority for the lives of the older worthies, we have occasionally quoted him without express reference.* Hearne's 'Collections' (ed. by Doble and Rannie for the Oxford Historical Society) have been diligently searched, but they contain fewer allusions to the College than might have been hoped. The portion of Hearne's MSS. still remaining unpublished and the Ballard papers (both in the Bodleian Library) have also been employed.

Much use has been made of the State Papers, especially for the reign of Henry VIII., and of the 'Register of the Visitors of the University of Oxford from A.D. 1647 to 1658,' edited by Professor Montagu Burrows for the Camden Society. Most of the information which we have derived from the first-mentioned source has escaped the notice of previous writers about the College. It is needless to say that the 'Dictionary of National Biography' has been constantly referred to.

The MS. authorities in the possession of the College include an enormous mass of documents relating to its property and finances, but very little besides. The deeds relating to the foundation of the College (including Papal Bulls the originals of which are mostly preserved), and the title-deeds of the various properties, were in the time of Warden Woodward carefully copied out in seven folio volumes of 'Evidences' which are kept in

* 'Wood' with the number of a volume indicates Wood's 'Annals'; 'Wood' as the authority for a statement about an individual may be taken to refer to the notice of that individual in the 'Athenæ.'

the Bursary. The immense collection of court rolls of manors, farmers' accounts, and the like, are very valuable materials for history, of which much use has already been made by the late Professor Thorold Rogers in his monumental 'History of Prices,' but they throw no light on the internal history of the College. Besides these, the following classes of documents may be noticed:

1. The Steward of Hall's books from 1387 to 1544, containing (with considerable gaps) the names of all members of the foundation who were receiving commons during each week, with occasional entries relating to guests.

2. The Bursars' rolls from the foundation to 1638, and the 'Long Books' which succeeded them from 1651 to 1881, since which time they have been supplanted by ledgers and balance-sheets of a more modern type.

3. The 'White Book,' containing the admission of Wardens, scholars, and Fellows from the foundation to 1456, with the notarial attestations and a few other formal documents, such as the list of books presented to the College by the founder (printed by A. F. Leach in the 'Collectanea,' vol. iii., of the Oxford Historical Society). There are also MS. lists of Fellows in Rawlinson MSS., D. 130 (Bodleian Library), and in the possession of the Warden of Winchester.

4. Registers of College meetings or meetings of the Warden and Thirteen from 1764 (the earlier part very meagre).

5. Visitatorial injunctions (referred to in various notes).

6. MS. notes by Wardens Pincke and Woodward.

7. Of the original statutes there exist the following

copies: One in the College library, one in the custody of the Warden, one in that of the Visitor, one in the British Museum (Harl. MSS., No. 1,343), from which last they were printed for the University of Oxford Commissioners in 1853.

Another most valuable MS. source is to be found in the registers of the Bishops of Winchester, especially the register containing a full record of the Visitations of Bishop Horne, of which only a very slight account his hitherto been given. We are much indebted to the kindness of our present Visitor in allowing us to use this volume in the Bodleian Library.

Reference to the original authorities for the names and dates of Fellows has been rendered unnecessary by the labours of our present venerable Warden, who has compiled an elaborate register of past members of the Society,* and collected an immense amount of information relating to their subsequent careers. The use which he has kindly allowed us to make of this precious volume is so great that we feel almost entitled to claim him as a joint-author of the present work. In many other ways we have been indebted to his knowledge of the College documents and the extracts which he has made from them. We must also express gratitude to the Rev. Hereford B. George, now senior Fellow of the College, for much useful information about the recent history of the College, and for his kindness in reading over our proof-sheets.

Though we trust that we have put together a fuller and more systematic history of the foundation than has

* 'F.' with a date after a name means that the person became a 'true and perpetual Fellow' in that year.

hitherto appeared, the present volume is very far from being the complete and final history of New College which we should like to see written. In partial extenuation of its many deficiencies, we trust that the short time at our disposal (in spite of much indulgence at the hands of our Publisher) may be duly borne in mind. It is possible that we may be able at some future date to produce a volume more worthy of our ancient and beloved Society.

H. RASHDALL.
ROBERT S. RAIT.

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CHAPTER I

THE FOUNDER

When the founder of a College is one of the most prominent statesmen of his age, a detailed life of him becomes out of place as an introduction to the history of a College. A biography of William of Wykeham would involve an inquiry into the whole political history of a peculiarly perplexed and difficult period of English history. All that we shall aim at in the following sketch is to inform the reader what sort of man William of Wykeham was. So much is essential if we would enter into the spirit and aim of his educational foundations.

William of Wykeham was born at Wickham in Hampshire in the year 1324. He lived just at the time when surnames were beginning to get stereotyped even in non-noble families. William took his surname, as was usual with ecclesiastics, from the place of his birth: his father is said to have been called John Longe.* On the other hand, a number of his relations, who may or may not have been actually born at Wykeham, assumed the name of the man who had founded

* Ancient Register of Winchester College.

the fortunes of his family. His parents are said to have been of humble condition: William was the first of his family who assumed a coat-of-arms.* The well-known motto which he added thereto and bequeathed to his College suggests an honourable disclaimer of noble lineage. His father is said to have been a freed villein, and the chevrons of his arms have been supposed to be an allusion to his trade of carpenter. Nothing is more probable than that William of Wykeham should have been a carpenter's son. His parents were too poor to have him educated at their own expense; but he lived at a time when Grammar Schools were abundant, and the patronage of promising lads of humble extraction was a recognised work of neighbourly kindness or religious piety. At the Grammar School, or one of the Grammar Schools, of Winchester Wykeham apparently gained his early education. For the promising youth of humble birth the regular avenue to a career in the Church was by way of the University. But there were other avenues to the same end. At his time the professions, as we should call them, were in Northern Europe chiefly exercised by ecclesiastics—that is, by clerks, generally in minor orders, who eventually took the higher orders as the offer of promotion made it worth their while. In England this had ceased to be the case with the common lawyers, but the ecclesiastical lawyers, the physicians, the secretaries and clerks of the King, of the Bishops, and of the great nobles were still, for the most part, tonsured

* Report of Robert Glover, Somerset Herald, to Lord Burghley, ap. Lowth, p. 11. The authorities for statements in this chapter, when they are not given in the notes, may be found in Lowth or in the excellent Life of Wykeham by Mr. Tait in the 'Dictionary of National Biography.'

ecclesiastics. These occupations, or at least their higher grades, were chiefly recruited from the Universities; but there was one profession—that of notary—for which a Grammar School education was sufficient, and which qualified its members for that service of great men which was the easiest road to greatness for those who were not born great. In a notary's office, we may presume, Wykeham 'completed his education,' learnt the ordinary routine of business, and picked up the rudiments of law. At all events, it is practically certain that he did not go to the University. On this point Chandler, who was Warden of New College within fifty years of its founder's death, was not likely to have made a mistake.* The patron who 'exhibited' him at school is said to have been the Governor of Winchester Castle. His first employment was that of notary to his benefactor.† He is found acting for Edyngton, Bishop of Winchester,‡ but there is no reason to believe that he was permanently in his service. In May, 1356, we find him attached to the King's service as Clerk of the King's Works in his Manors of Henley and Easthampstead. On October 30 of the same year he is promoted to be 'Supervisor' of the King's Works at the Castle and in the Park of Windsor by a patent which gives him power to press artificers, and to superintend the compulsory 'purveyance' of stone, timber, carriages, and the like. His

* See extract from his Chronicle in Lowth, p. 15. Lowth adds that he might have consulted the University Registers; but at this time there were no Registers of Matriculations, and only a small proportion of the University students took a degree.

† Reg. of Winchester College: Chandler's Chronicle.

‡ Mentioned by Tanner as acting for the Bishop in documents of that time (Lowth, p. 14).

wages are a shilling a day at Windsor, two shillings elsewhere, with three shillings a week for his clerk. His income was that of a fairly well-beneficed priest. It was by his advice that in 1359 the King 'was persuaded to pull down many good buildings, and to build many more beautiful and sumptuous ones: nearly all the masons and carpenters throughout all England were brought to that work, so that scarcely anyone could have any good mason or carpenter except in secret, by reason of the King's prohibition.' The historian who gives us this account adds that he was a man 'of the lowest, perhaps (as was said) of servile condition; but very astute, and a man of great industry.'* Windsor Castle owes its present form to Wykeham's superintendence, if not to Wykeham's design; he was also employed upon the building of castles at Sheppey † and elsewhere. There is a story that somewhere on an inner wall of Windsor Castle Wykeham had inscribed the ambiguous words: 'Hoc fecit Wykeham.' Envious tongues denounced his presumption to the King; Wykeham deftly stopped the mouths of his calumniators by translating it: 'This made Wykeham.' But the story is probably a legend, and not an early one.

Wykeham at this time must be thought of as a man of business, an official, a sort of Chief Commissioner of Works—only by accident an ecclesiastic. He has sometimes been regarded as an architect in the modern sense, but it is not likely that he possessed a technical knowledge of building. In 1357 he had received the addition of a shilling a day to his salary, which made

* Continuatio Chronici Ranulphi per Joh. Malverne (Lowth, p. 20).
† *Ibid.*

him a richer man than the Warden of his future College; but the cheapest way for Kings and nobles to pay their employés was by ecclesiastical preferment; and in 1348 the Black Death began to create a glut of vacancies. From this time benefices begin to be showered upon Wykeham with a liberal hand. In 1349 he begins with the rectory of Irstead, in Norfolk. In 1357 he is presented to Pulham, in the same county; there being difficulties with the Roman Court, he is granted £200 a year till he obtains 'peaceable possession,' which he does in 1361. Then in 1358-59 he gets a prebend in Lichfield Cathedral, exchanged for another benefice in 1361. In 1360 he is Dean of the King's Free Chapel of St. Martin-le-Grand in London. Here he began to indulge his taste for building at his own expense by rebuilding the chapel and cloister-house. In 1361 he acquires from the King a great batch of prebends, recently vacated by the plague, at Abergwili, Llandewi Brewi, Bromyard, Beverley, Wherwell, Hereford, St. Paul's, and at least two from other patrons—*i.e.*, one (if not two simultaneously) at Sarum, and another prebend in St. Paul's. In 1362 he becomes Canon and Prebendary at Lincoln, and is in possession of three livings in that diocese, one of which is soon afterwards exchanged for a prebend of York. In 1363 (or 1362-3) the list is augmented by prebends in the Collegiate Churches of Hastings and St. Stephen's, Westminster, and a couple of archdeaconries, held in succession—Northampton and Lincoln—with the provostship of Wells and a prebend in that church. A few of these benefices appear to have been exchanged or dropped after a short tenure, and there are other preferments of which

even the diligence of Lowth has failed to preserve a complete record. We are able, however, to give a complete list of his preferments in the year 1366. Urban VI., the truculent torturer of the recalcitrant Cardinals, opened his reign by an attack upon pluralities. In the year 1365 he issued a Bull requiring an account of all pluralities to be sent to him through the Ordinary of the place in which the pluralist resided. At this time Wykeham is credited with the possession of one archdeaconry, one provostship, and ten canonries with prebends. The total value of these preferments is £873 6s. 8d.

It is, of course, improbable that Wykeham ever resided a day in any of these benefices. His earliest preferments were acquired before he was even an acolyte —an order which he received in 1361. He was not ordained priest till 1362. In the above-mentioned return he is mentioned as ' residing and commonly dwelling in the city and diocese of London.' Meanwhile his civil promotion fully kept pace with his ecclesiastical. In 1359 he became Chief Warden and Surveyor of the King's Castles of Windsor, Leeds, Dover, and Hadleigh, and of the Manors of Old and New Windsor, Wichemer, and a number of other castles, manors and parks, an office which included the stewardship or judgeship of the manorial courts.* In 1360 he attends the King at the signature of the Peace of Bretigny. In 1363 he becomes Warden and Justiciary of the King's Forests on this side Trent ; in 1364 Keeper of the Privy Seal ; two years later Secretary to the King. In 1365 he is associated with great officers of State in a Commission

* Rot. Pat. 33 Ed. III. (Tanner and Ashmole).

to treat about the ransom of the King of Scotland. About 1365 Froissart* speaks of him as 'so much in favour with the King of England that everything was done by him and nothing was done without him.' At last, in 1366, on the death of his former patron, sixteen years or more of service to the Crown were rewarded by the magnificent bishopric of Winchester, and (some difficulties with the Pope having been adjusted) he was consecrated in the following year. As Bishop-elect, on September 7, 1367, he became Lord High Chancellor of England. It was not till 1368 that he found time to run down to Winchester for his enthronement.

Wykeham had now attained the highest prize that lay open to the ambition of an ecclesiastical statesman. But the moment was an ill one for ecclesiastical statesmen. The mismanagement of the French war, the heavy taxation at home, and administrative abuses had produced an outburst of popular indignation. The cry went forth that it was the administration of 'gens d'église' that was responsible for all that was wrong, and the discontent was increased by the Wycliffite outcry against the secular power of Churchmen, an outcry artfully fomented (later, if not now) by John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster, whose faction was trying to get the decrepit King into its hands. This policy found expression in the Parliament of 1371, which petitioned that all Churchmen might be removed from the great offices of State. The King, now completely under the influence of the Duke, yielded, and for the first time the Great Seal passed into lay hands. Released from administrative duties, the Bishop retired to his diocese

* viii. 101.

and began the kind of reforms which usually marked the early days of a vigorous episcopate. He set about repairing the episcopal residences, much dilapidated by his predecessor. He held a visitation of the diocese in person, leaving injunctions for the reform of monastic abuses. In particular he attacked with a vigorous hand the abuses in the Hospital of St. Cross, where the late Bishop's nephew and other Masters had been systematically appropriating to themselves revenues left for the relief of the poor. Here the Bishop finally triumphed after a long suit in the Roman Court. But the malice of the Lancastrian faction was not content to allow the Bishop, the chief support of the Black Prince's party, to devote himself to these harmless labours. It had been discovered that lawyers and lay nobles managed affairs rather worse than ecclesiastics, especially when their influence depended on the mistress of an aged and lascivious monarch. By the good Parliament of 1376, inspired by the Prince of Wales, Alice Perrers was banished from Court, the Duke's chief agents were impeached, and a Parliamentary Commission appointed to control the Government. But the dissolution of the Parliament practically restored Lancaster to power, and left Wykeham exposed to the vengeance of the faction. A prosecution was instituted against Wykeham for alleged maladministration and misappropriation when in office. The first charge is simply one of wastefully expending the money voted for the war; the rest relate chiefly to various fines and other debts to the King which the Bishop was accused of corruptly or negligently remitting. All the articles were, however, dropped with the exception of one alleged remission of

a fine, by which the King was defrauded, though it is not contended that the Bishop was enriched. For this offence —a charge of this kind in those days could probably have been made against anyone who had held the Great Seal for four years—the temporalities* of his see were seized, and he was forbidden to approach within twenty miles of the Court. His name was expressly omitted from the general pardon at the King's Jubilee—all this apparently after an examination before the Council, but no regular trial. The Bishop was obliged to retire to a kind of sanctuary in the monasteries of Merton and Waverley, near Farnham. Impoverished by the sequestration,

'he then brake up household and scattered his men and dismissed them, for he could no longer gouerne and meinteyn them; sending also to Oxford, whear vpon almose and for God's sake he found LX. scollers, that they shold depart and remoue euery one to their frendes, for he could no longer help or finde them; and so they all departed in great sorow and discomfort, weeping and with simple cheer.'†

Wykeham's disgrace and the suspension of his College's existence was not of long duration. The Convocation of 1377 refused to grant a subsidy till the Bishop of Winchester was present. He was persuaded by the Bishops to return to his palace at Southwark, and to take his seat in Convocation. With characteristic prudence 'he came to London with a small number of servants, whoe before tyme was thoughte to excel all

* This does not, of course, imply that he was reduced to pauperism. About half the income of the see was in 'spiritualities,' *i.e.*, tithes.

† Chron. Angliæ, p. lxxx.

other in multitude of servants.' When Lancaster's violence against the Bishop of London at Wycliffe's trial had provoked a riot of the Londoners, one of the popular demands was that the Bishop of Winchester should be brought to trial before his peers. On June 18 Lancaster was unable to prevent the restitution of the Bishop's temporalities on condition of his fitting out three ships of war, with the pay of fifty men at arms and fifty archers in each for three months. To procure this pardon he had, it is said, to stoop to the humiliation of entreating and paying for the intercession of Alice Perrers; but others besides Wykehamists have doubted the story.

When out of office the Bishop of Winchester still took a prominent part in politics. Year after year he appears among the small Committee of Lords whose advice and assistance the Commons demanded in their own deliberations. The great Parliamentary revolt against the misgovernment of the De la Pole Ministry in the early days of Richard II. placed William of Wykeham among the Commission of eleven who were to superintend the administration. He does not appear to have taken any part in the armed resistance to the King, but served as one of the mediators between the Lords Appellant and the young monarch. When the King had waxed strong enough once more to assert himself and to take the government into his own hands, Wykeham reluctantly accepted the Great Seal again. In the Parliament which followed he took the precaution of formally resigning, and inviting any complaints against his official conduct; but none were made, and he resumed the chancellorship, which he

retained till 1391. When the King attempted to wreak vengeance on his uncles and the Commission of eleven (1397), the Bishop was formally declared to have been ignorant of the scope of this Commission; but he had taken the precaution of lending the King £1,000 in furtherance of his scheme of practically ruling without a Parliament, and he so far assented to the King's proceedings against Archbishop Arundel as to be the Papal delegate for conveying the pallium to the intruder, Richard Walden. After the impeachment of Arundel, Richard in his last Parliament solemnly pronounced Wykeham and other Commissioners 'immune,' whereupon they fell upon the ground and thanked the King for his goodness.* He absented himself from the Parliament which deposed Richard II., and was not among the Lords who voted for Richard's imprisonment in the first Parliament of Henry IV. From this time the Bishop practically retired into private life. He died in 1404.

The memory of Wykeham has been exposed to a curious succession of baseless attacks. Firstly, there is the assertion that Wykeham had accused John of Gaunt of being a changeling. This is as old as Malverne's 'Continuatio Ranulphi,' *circa* A.D. 1376. So indiscreet a circulation of so improbable a slander would be very unlike Wykeham's usual caution. Secondly, there is a batch of stories about his low extraction, etc., preserved by Leland, which owe their origin to the infamous Warden London, the value of whose testimony we shall have more opportunity of estimating hereafter. Lowth

* 'Proni in terram ceciderunt, regi de tanto beneficio regraciantes.' —Adam of Usk, ed. M. Thompson, p. 12.

has no difficulty in showing the impudent falsifications of history with which they are mixed up. Among these assertions is the story that his real name was Perot. This appears to be the sole historical basis of the calumny that Wykeham introduced Alice Perrers, his niece or sister, 'to the King's favour and bed.' This story makes its appearance for the first time in a work called 'The English Lawyer' (under the head of *Scandalum Magnatum*), edited by one William Bohun, who had a quarrel with the College about property in Essex, and who adopted an original method of airing his grievances:

'In the year 1726 Bohun met the College progress in Essex, and first expostulated with Mr. Pryor, a Fellow of the College, and acting upon that occasion as Deputy Steward, on the supposed injustice of the proceedings. Mr. Pryor contented himself with answering that the Society had not acted in this affair without taking due advice, and that they were ready to justify their conduct whenever they should be called upon by a proper authority. This was all that passed in Mr. Pryor's presence; but Dr. Bigg, Warden of the College, sent for Mr. Bohun into the parlour of the house where the College courts were held, and there in the presence of Mr. Bridgell and Mr. Coker (then Fellow of the College, and by his office attending upon the Warden in his progress) undertook to reason the matter with him calmly and dispassionately in behalf of the Society's proceedings. But finding himself unable to make any impression on him, and high words arising between Bohun and Bridgell, the Warden thought proper to withdraw. Soon after, Bridgell having gradually shoved Bohun off the end of the bench on which they both sat, Bohun struck him, and the gentlemen, though both

armed with swords, exercised their canes on each other pretty smartly.'—Lowth, pp. *332*, *333*.

The consequence was victory to Bridgell, and a severe beating to Bohun.

Bohun, on his recovery, not only brought an action against Bridgell for the assault, but likewise swore the peace against the Warden, alleging that he was a confederate of Bridgell, and aiding and abetting him, since the Warden had invited Bohun into the house, and ought to have protected him during his stay in it. The Warden was obliged to attend in person at Westminster Hall, and to give bail; but, Bohun proceeding no further against him, the matter, so far as concerned the Warden and the College, dropped there.

The few facts here collected will perhaps be sufficient to suggest to the reader the public character of William of Wykeham. He was in the main an admirable man of affairs—sagacious, cautious, moderate. He belonged, on the whole, to the constitutional party of his time, sympathizing with the lawful King and the heir-apparent against princely factions, with Parliamentary government against Court intrigues, with the cause of good administration against tyranny and oppression. Yet he was averse from extreme measures in public policy, and from encountering great risks in person or in purse, and he lived at a time when personal security not unfrequently demanded some sacrifice of nice scruples, or even of personal dignity. A good patriot and a good Churchman, he had no mind for the rôle of a Langton or a Becket. Without being a great statesman, a saint, or a hero, he was probably the most respected prelate of an age when prelates were not wont to be either saintly

or heroic. He was content to keep out of evil which he could not prevent, and to make the best of a situation in which high success was perhaps impossible and certainly dangerous. It was in the main due to his virtues rather than to his failings that he won more respect and suffered less injury at the hands of political opponents than any other public man of his time.

Such was William of Wykeham, the statesman. But what of Wykeham the ecclesiastic? The answer is that his religious ideas and his views of ecclesiastical duty were exactly those of his time—no better and no worse. He was a typical representative of the characteristic abuses of his age: as such, and as the enemy of their patron, John of Gaunt, he was a favourite object of attack to Wycliffe and the Lollards. The central theme of all their denunciations was the wealth, the secular power, and, above all, the secular employments, of the clergy. Wykeham had become Bishop of one of the greatest English sees by being 'wise in buildyng castles,'* as Wycliffe himself puts it; nor is it probable that he had ever heard a confession or preached a sermon before his elevation to the episcopate. Lowth notices that he

* I cannot doubt, in view of Wykeham's prominence as an ecclesiastical statesman, that these words are aimed at him, and they support the traditional view that Wykeham had something to do with the designing of the various buildings erected under his direction—a view against which Mr. Leach, in his 'History of Winchester College' (following the lead of Mr. Papworth's most important paper in the 'Transactions of the Royal Institute of British Architects,' part iii.), has argued with his accustomed vigour. It is impossible to determine exactly the share which he took in the matter. There is no reason to think that he actually drew the plans or inspected the workmanship, but there seems to be a probability that he was not exactly in the position of the modern official or private person who employs an architect—mere clay in the hands of the potter.

was the first Chancellor who did not take a text, divide, distinguish, and so on, in his Parliamentary addresses—a sensible but unclerical proceeding. These abuses were increased when the Churchman was ignorant as well as secular. Wykeham, though he must have picked up a little law in the notary's office, had enjoyed nothing but a Grammar School education. 'Quod minus habuit litteraturæ, laudabili compensavit liberalitate,' says a contemporary apologist.* Not only Lollards, but all earnest Churchmen, deplored the monstrous abuses of plurality and non-residence: Wykeham was perhaps the worst pluralist of his time, and is not known to have kept a day's residence in any of his cathedral dignities or parochial cures. Not only Lollards, but all patriotic Englishmen, sympathized with the legislation against Papal provisions: Wykeham had accepted a provision from the Pope in his early days, and as Bishop consented to be 'provided' to his bishopric, though now by collusion and arrangement with the King. All earnest men lamented the spiritual destitution which made Wycliffe's 'poor priests' a necessity, and traced it largely to the abuse of 'impropriations': Wykeham, even when providing for the better education of the secular clergy, did so largely by buying up or creating impropriations. The abuses of the age centred in his person. Like many a commercial philanthropist of modern times, he was better than other men, not in his way of getting money, but in his way of spending it. In right of his see, he owned a particularly disreputable property in Southwark.† From so typical a bulwark of the old régime in

* Ann. Hen. IV., p. 391.

† See Trevelyan, 'England in the Age of Wycliffe,' p. 280.

Church and State, we could hardly expect original ideas in religion or in education; and yet, strange to say, this half-educated, conservative man of the world discerned, and attempted to remedy, some of the most conspicuous defects in the educational system of his day.

It must not be supposed that because Wykeham saw no harm in accumulating pluralities, and taking out Papal licenses of non-residence, he was not a man of profound piety after the conventional clerical fourteenth-century manner. We are told much of the magnificence of his gate-alms, of his remission of customary dues from tenants on his accession to the bishopric, of his paying the debts of the Convent of Selborne, of his repair of the roads between London and Winchester. He so far improved upon the conventional charity of his day as to employ pages to seek out those who were really in distress, instead of reserving his liberality for importunate or professional beggars. The most tender medieval piety and the basest medieval superstition gathered round the provision made for the soul's health after death. In this, too, Wykeham was a man of his age. At one of the nave-altars of Winchester Cathedral there was wont in Wykeham's school-days to be celebrated a very early morning Mass, which good schoolboys voluntarily attended before their long day's work began. The future Bishop, whose eyes (we are told) often streamed with tears when he reached the commemoration of the living and the dead in the service of the Mass, was a frequent attendant at this service: and this scene of his early devotions he chose as the place of his burial, and the site of his gorgeous mortuary chapel; and here he carefully contracted with the Prior and convent that

three Masses daily should aid the repose of his soul for all time. But a more gorgeous memorial and a more ample provision for perpetual prayer was supplied by the two great Colleges at Winchester and Oxford, with which his memory is eternally associated. To the history of these foundations, for which Wykeham had begun to make preparations since the very first days of his episcopate, it is now time to turn.

CHAPTER II

THE FOUNDATION

RESPECTABLE as is the position which Wykeham won for himself by his administrative and political labours, it is by the 'two S. Mary Winton Colleges' that his name will chiefly live in history. What was his design in founding them? In the first place, it must be remembered that they were essentially ecclesiastical foundations. They served the purpose of all ecclesiastical foundations. They were a 'good work' upon which the pious and celibate Churchman who had grown rich upon the wealth of the Church might naturally be inclined, and was almost expected, to bestow a portion of his gains. They gratified the generous passion for building which was widespread among mediæval ecclesiastics, and was likely to be especially strong in a 'Surveyor of Works.' They added to the numbers of the clergy, which was an end in itself apart altogether from pastoral needs or 'spiritual destitution'; and in particular they would insure a continual supply of prayers and Masses for the founder's soul and for the souls of his parents and benefactors. But among the good works which would fulfil these designs

there was room for considerable choice. The would-be 'pious founder' might build a hospital; but since leprosy had become rarer, this form of benefaction had not been very popular in the Middle Ages: in those days it was only extreme affliction which made poverty interesting. He might found a monastery.* But monks were getting out of favour. An orthodox Churchman like Wykeham would not have denied in the abstract the value of lives divided between slothful repose and mechanical service-singing. But it is probable that many of Wycliffe's opponents secretly sympathized with his polemic against the hunting Abbots and 'buzzing monks,' who battened upon the revenues of impropriated parish churches, and whose social function was at the best that of very respectable squireens. It had begun to dawn upon the laity that the lives of the monks were, to say the very least of it, less edifying than those of the ordinary secular priest, who could chant a service quite as well, and at a very much cheaper rate, while he sometimes found leisure besides to do a good many things that the monk was not allowed to do—to preach sermons to laymen, to hear confessions, to teach a school or the like. The orders of friars needed no large endowments; and they, too, had left their first love. Founded to perform these social duties which the monks made a profession of abjuring, they had degenerated into preachers of amusing stories or gross superstitions, sturdy beggars,

* The statement that Wykeham had intended to found a monastery, which I have previously adopted, was made on the authority of Wycliffe, 'De Ecclesia,' cap. xvi., but further consideration shows me that the passage will not bear the interpretation which I put upon it.

hawkers of every spiritual quack-medicine—indulgences, letters of fraternity, and the rest of it. Religious men had begun to feel a secret disgust for monks and friars alike. Hardly any monasteries were founded in the fourteenth century. The secular clergy were coming into favour again. Men were beginning to found chantries and Colleges of secular Canons instead of monasteries. Chaucer's ideal ecclesiastic was a secular —the 'poor priest of a town,' *i.e.*, a country township or village. Above all, thoughtful men had long recognised the value of Colleges in University towns, without which it was scarcely possible for the poor man, not a monk or a friar, to face the long education which led to the higher degrees. It was to the secular theologians that men turned who hoped for reformation in the Church; it was by secular theologians, as Wycliffe's opponents must have felt, that a stand could most effectively be made against the heretics who were on every side catching the ear of the religious-minded laity. Thus, in the middle of the fourteenth century the foundation of a College presented itself as the most natural and obvious outlet for the spirit of ecclesiastical munificence. It was the College-founding epoch *par excellence*. At Paris sixteen Colleges had been founded before 1300; by the time when Wykeham founded New College there were fifty. At Oxford six Colleges had come into existence between 1263 and 1341; at Cambridge seven between about 1300 and 1352. There was thus nothing very original in Wykeham's choice of a College as the recipient of his liberality.

To realize what a College in the fourteenth century

was, and what it was not, it is essential to bear in mind that the Universities were older than the Colleges, and had reached the period of their highest intellectual vitality almost without their aid. The Universities were originally great guilds or autonomous corporations—in the north of Europe of teachers, in the south of students—which had grown up, not in the first instance through the will of any definite founder, but by a process of spontaneous and astonishingly rapid evolution. They had gradually acquired legal prerogatives, privileges, immunities of all kinds, but they still possessed almost no endowments. In the south of Europe the University teachers were partly supported by the State or the municipality; in the north they were still dependent entirely upon the fees of their students, or upon the ecclesiastical benefices held by the teachers. Every newly-made Master of Arts was compelled to teach for a time in the schools of the University; every Master of Arts and every graduate of a higher faculty might continue to do so as long as he felt disposed. So long as he did so, he was called a Regent Doctor or Master. The College introduced no revolution into the University system. It was simply a way of supporting students who were attending the schools of the University Regents. A community of clerks living together in the University schools was naturally expected to live more or less after the fashion of other clerical communities. Even in the unendowed Halls, in which students of all ages had been accustomed to reside before the era of Colleges, there was a certain amount of order and discipline. They were communities governed by a Principal of their own election. At

first they even made their own statutes; and even after statutes were made for them by the University, they still retained a good deal of self-government. The College was originally nothing but an endowed Hall. We must not therefore attribute to the earliest College founders any idea of introducing a revolution into the educational system; it was not their primary design to supplement by a system of private discipline and domestic superintendence the unchastened liberty of the old student-life. Men like Robert de Sorbonne at Paris, or Walter de Merton at Oxford, only aimed at providing endowments and houses of residence in which poorer students might live very much as students of average means had hitherto lived in the unendowed Halls at their own expense. And in particular they aimed at enabling the poorer men to extend their residence to a longer period than they could have done without such assistance. When it is remembered that the 'standing' now required of graduates in the superior faculties was formerly a period of actual residence, it is clear that only well-to-do students could without assistance attain to those degrees. But, although the provision of stricter discipline was not the primary aim of College founders, the conditions of College life naturally made stricter discipline possible. The Head of a College was, indeed, in this country usually elected by the community, but he could neither be removed by it nor be deserted in favour of a more easy-going Principal. The community was autonomous; but the degree to which different grades of scholars participated in the government was minutely prescribed by the statutes. The statutes were made by the founder,

and their execution was watched over by his representative, the external Visitor. The foundation of Colleges naturally led to the growth of a stricter, more disciplined and more orderly form of academic life than had hitherto been known in the Universities, and the advantages which the system revealed in its practical working served as an additional inducement to add to the number of such foundations.

We are not left to conjecture the motives which inspired Wykeham's designs. He tells us in his foundation charter that one of the considerations which moved him to the foundation of his Colleges was the falling off in the number of students on account of pestilences (referring especially, of course, to the Black Death of 1349, and the milder recurrences of the same epidemic), and the poverty of those who wanted to study, in consequence of which some were drawn away by the attractions of a military, others by those of a married, life, others by the more lucrative pursuit of mechanical arts. But another reason for such foundations was to be found, he adds, in the want of discipline among those who proved superior to these seductions, many of whom were 'given up to idleness and frivolous vanities, betaking themselves to wandering and various insolences.' With regard to the first of these explanations, we may remark that this sort of thing was almost a matter of 'common form' in medieval documents; the medieval was always a *laudator temporis acti*, especially in the Universities, and habitually disposed to believe that most things were going to the dogs. William of Armagh a little before this time assured the Pope that the numbers of the University had recently declined

from 30,000 to 6,000, while Wykeham's contemporary, Wycliffe, estimates the fall as being from 60,000 to 3,000. These figures are, of course, wholly preposterous; there was at the bottom of them the undoubted fact that the Black Death had diminished the population, and consequently the student class, to some appreciable extent, while it had not diminished the number of prebends and livings for which incumbents must be found.

The kind of discipline which naturally suggested itself to the medieval College-founder as suitable for a community of men all more or less destined to an ecclesiastical career was of course the discipline of an ecclesiastical house. Nothing was further from the intention of a secular College-founder than to make monks of his students. But many features of monastic life were shared by the clergy of collegiate churches and by the Colleges of Priest Vicars or Minor Canons, who often lived together in a common Hall, as well as worshipped together in a common church; and the life of scholars being much more strictly a 'common life' than that of Canons, many of the features of the internal discipline and organization of a College were naturally suggested by those of a monastery. The College may be said from one point of view to represent a fusion between the ideal of the self-governing Hall evolved by the action of the students themselves in the Universities of the thirteenth century and that of the ecclesiastical common life in so far as that was suitable to the position of ecclesiastics who were scholars and not monks.

Such was the ideal which floated before the mind of Walter de Merton, the originator of the English College system. For the most part, it was the same

system which had already grown up at Paris and other University towns. There were, however, certain features more or less peculiar to the English type of College, such as greater autonomy, greater independence of outside Visitors, patrons, or other authorities, and a more liberal and more permanent position for the foundation scholars. And the 'rule of Merton' was the model upon which all the statutes of later English Colleges, except the first statutes of Balliol, were more or less directly based. Wykeham's conception did not materially differ from that of Walter de Merton, except that the whole foundation was on a larger scale: the buildings were more ample, the allowances more liberal, and the numbers larger. In some respects, the magnificence of Wykeham's ideas was anticipated by the Court Chaplain, Eglesfield, the founder of Queen's; but Eglesfield began to build, and had not wherewith to finish. The most original feature of Wykeham's foundation was its connexion with another foundation. While it is fanciful to make of Wykeham an 'educationist' of great and original ideas, his arrangements do testify to the penetration with which he discerned the weakest features in the medieval educational system. All medieval books of a learned or scientific character were written in Latin; all instruction was given in Latin; the scholar was still supposed to talk, and often did talk, in that language, though less naturally and less well than he had talked it in the thirteenth century. And yet, ever since the rediscovery of Aristotle at the beginning of the thirteenth century had killed the incipient Humanism of the twelfth, Latin was nowhere studied or taught with any thoroughness. In the north

of Europe especially, it was all but ignored in the University schools. Even at Oxford the student was still, indeed, nominally examined in grammar and verse-making, but there was no teaching of the classical authors after a boy had once left the Grammar School. And boys commonly left the Grammar School at twelve or fourteen to plunge into the study of the Latin Aristotle, which must often have been wholly above their heads, and which certainly did no good to their Latin prose. The consequence was that medieval Latin was becoming worse and worse. In the thirteenth century scholars had still, to a large extent, thought in Latin. The Latin of Wycliffe, as Dr. Poole has remarked, has sometimes to be literally translated into English before it becomes intelligible. Wykeham was an able man, whose own education had been chiefly that of the Grammar School. In so far as he had any original educational object, it was to improve the scholarship of future ages. And he did this in the best possible way—by the foundation of a school quite distinct from his College. Divining, perhaps, that it was no use to struggle against the epidemic of bad Latin and premature scholasticism in Oxford, he placed that school at Winchester, and he provided that his scholars should not leave for Oxford till they had attained the comparatively mature age of sixteen. The College at Oxford was to be strictly confined to former scholars in the founder's College of St. Mary at Winchester.*

* Mr. Leach ('History of Winchester College,' p. 85) suggests that Wykeham may have taken a hint from the Grammar School established at Exeter by Bishops Stapledon and Grandisson as a nursery for Exeter College, but here there was no organic connexion between the two foundations.

And now let us briefly trace the steps which Wykeham took for the realization of his great design. It is in the year 1369 that we first find Wykeham beginning to buy up property in Oxford. He buys New Inn Hall, in the parish of St. Peter-le-Bailey, from the representatives of Thomas Trillek, late Bishop of Hereford. This may suggest that he had thought of that region for his College, but he had already begun buying land on the present site in the parish of St. Peter-in-the-East. It would be tedious to mention the successive purchases in detail, mostly effected through the agency of John de Buckingham (Canon of York), and John de Ronceby, clerks—both ex-Fellows of Merton. The ownership of the soil in medieval towns was divided and subdivided to an extraordinary extent. The Bishop had to buy his site from a large number of 'capital lords' and inferior tenants. The largest owner was perhaps the city of Oxford, from whom he had to purchase a considerable empty space in the angle of the city walls, and a public road leading from Smithgate (near the present Indian Institute) to the High Street. An Inquisition *ad quod damnum* was held in the usual way by the royal coroner, at which it was found* by the jury that 'it would not be to the damage of the King if the said Bishop of Winchester' acquired these lands, provided that the Warden and scholars of the proposed College bound themselves to keep the city walls in repair, and that the commonalty of the town have free access to the walls in time of war. The jury adds that:

'The said common way or lane and plots of ground before mentioned were full of filth, dirt, and stinking carcases,

* Wood, p. 179.

brought from several places in the Town, which were to the great annoyance of the Town and University of Scholars, and to the detriment of all men that passed that way; and that also there was a concourse of malefactors, murderers, whores, and thieves, to the great damage of the Town, and danger of Scholars and other men passing that way, and that Scholars and others were there often wounded, killed, and lost; and that all the said plots of ground lay waste, and had been long time deserted from the inhabiting of any person, and that it was a place as it were desolate and not included or by any occupied.'

Another document tells us that at an earlier period it had been occupied by 'taverns and deep caves,' in which malefactors often lay in wait, and sallied forth to commit thefts, homicides, and other intolerable evils. It has been conjectured that the unoccupied condition of a piece of land within the walls of a crowded city, and close to the centre of University life, was due to its having been used as a plague-pit in the Black Death. The jury found that the plots of ground were worth ten shillings a year. As they made the Bishop pay £80 for this most undesirable property (3 roods in all),* it is clear that the citizens of Oxford were already laying the foundations of their traditional reputation as remarkably astute and tenacious landlords. The other landlords with whom Wykeham had to deal were the Prior and Convent of St. Frideswyde's, the Master and Brethren of the Hospital of St. John (then occupying the site of Magdalen), the Vicar of St. Peter-in-the-East (whose garden was absorbed) and the wardens of that parish, the Abbot and Convent of Oseney, the

* There were other purchases of land from the city.

Minister and Brethren of the Trinitarian Order (who had a chapel and convent near the East Gate leading out of the city, at the corner of New College Lane), the Prioress and Convent of Littlemore, the Provost and Fellows of Queen's, the Abbess and Convent of Godstow, the Warden and Fellows of Merton (lords of the neighbouring Manor of Holywell), the Prioress and Convent of Studley. As a large part of the site consisted of gardens, or wholly unoccupied land, the College displaced fewer of the old Halls than other large Colleges; still, the founder had to buy up Chimney Hall, Little Hammer Hall, Maiden Hall, Shelde Hall, Mariolhall, Bolehall, and Spaldyng Court, once a *domus pauperum*, or house of residence for the poorest class of students.* The land now covered by the College buildings and garden was only gradually acquired, and the College had entered into possession of its premises long before the purchases were completed.

The royal license to found the College and hold land in mortmain was granted on June 30, 1379, together with a pardon to the Bishop's attorneys for having already acquired various plots of ground without license, subject to the condition of keeping in repair the city wall and allowing access to the Mayor and burgesses once in three years to see that this was done, as well as to defend the wall in time of war. The license also requires the College to make a gate or postern in the wall 'at each end of the close of the said Colleges.' The gates actually made were the present front gate and the one at the Slype. On

* These facts appear from the Register of Merton College.

November 26, 1379, the founder from his town-house in Southwark issued his charter erecting a College for a Warden and seventy 'poor and indigent scholar clerks,' to be called 'Saynte Marie College of Wynchester.' As there was already a St. Mary's College in Oxford—the College which early acquired the name of Oriel—Wykeham's foundation soon became popularly known as the New College. The name 'New College of St. Mary' is used even in an official document—the petition to the Bishop of Dunkeld for the dedication of the cloister—in 1400; but the legal style of the corporation is still 'the Warden and Scholars of the College of St. Mary of Winchester in Oxford.'

The Bishop of Winchester naturally took pains to provide the College with an ample armoury of Papal Bulls of privileges. The following are worthy of notice:

1. In 1371 Gregory XI. issues a Bull to the Bishop of Worcester and Exeter and the Prior of Lewes, empowering them to inquire and report concerning a petition of the Bishop of Winchester, who intends to raise his foundation from sixty to one hundred scholars, for leave to buy certain alien priories in England from the houses to which they belong.

2. Bull of Boniface IX., 1389, giving the College leave to farm out their appropriated churches or possessions for any term on lease without the permission of the Bishop of the diocese.

3. Bull of Urban VI. in 1383, giving the Bishop of Winchester license to consecrate or dedicate the chapel and its altars, and to reconcile the same if desecrated *per effusionem sanguinis*, by himself or

any other Catholic Bishop without leave of the Diocesan.

4. Bull of Boniface IX. in 1389, allowing the College to have a cemetery with right of burial therein without permission of the parish priest.

5. Bull of Boniface IX. in 1389, granting an indulgence of 100 days to all who visit the chapel on certain festivals and contribute to its fabric.

6. Bull of Boniface IX., 1391, giving the College leave to receive oblations and bequests ('oblationes, obventiones, donata, legata, relicta, et alia obvenientia emolumenta quecunque,' etc.) without leave of the Diocesan, or Rector or Vicar of the place.

7. Bull of Boniface IX. in 1398, to allow the College to farm out its possessions to laymen for ten years.

8. Bull of Boniface IX. in 1398. Since the Bull of 1391 made no mention of the original Bull allowing a cemetery with right of burial without permission of the Diocesan, or Rector or Vicar of the place, but saving the rights of the parish church, doubts had arisen as to whether the first Bull was cancelled or whether the second was 'surreptitious,' to remove which it was now provided that the burial dues, etc., should be received by the College without any deduction.

9. Bull of Boniface IX. in 1398, granting leave to the Warden to hold a benefice in addition to the wardenship without residence (confirming a Bull of Urban VI., the Warden's necessary residence at Oxford having recently been reduced from eleven months to ten).

10. Bull of Boniface IX. in 1398, granting Warden

Malford leave to hold West Wycombe, or any other benefice, with the wardenship and without residence (doubts having arisen as to the legality of such plurality).

11. Bull of Boniface IX. in 1393, granting to the Bishop of Winchester the right to dedicate (*i.e.*, in modern language, consecrate) the chapel and cemetery, and to reconcile the same if desecrated by effusion of blood, without leave of the Bishop of the diocese.

12. Bull of Boniface IX. in 1398, declaring (because of doubts as to the interpretation of former Bulls) that the College and its members are exempt from oblations or funeral dues to the Vicar of the place.

13. Bull of Boniface IX. in 1400, appointing the Archbishop of York, the Abbot of Westminster, and the Abbot of Evesham, 'Conservators' to protect the College against those who might unlawfully occupy its possessions, withhold rents, etc. The Bull recites that such usurpations had actually taken place.

Most of these Bulls remain in perfect preservation in the muniment-room;* but the most valuable and extensive of all College privileges seems to have disappeared. There is, however, a copy of it in the statute-book in the possession of the Visitor. This is a Bull of Boniface IX. granted in 1398, by which the College is totally exempted from all jurisdiction of any other prelate than the Bishop of Winchester. It is printed *in extenso* in a pamphlet published in 1711, when the Fellows of Winchester appealed against 'certain orders and injunctions made against justice and right by the

* A few of the above are only preserved in the copies in the College Evidence Book, vol. i.

Electors of New College,'* in which it is pointed out that the visitatorial power at New College is granted by Papal Bull, and is absolutely exclusive of all other visitation, whereas the visitation of Winchester belongs to the Bishop *jure ordinario* in right of his see, and is therefore liable to interference from the Metropolitan. It is only *sede vacante* that the Archbishop of Canterbury ever had any jurisdiction in New College.

One of these exemptions of the College led to a prolonged dispute with the Vicar of St. Peter-in-the-East. The College right of burial touched his 'mortuaries,' and for these he litigated for many years. The College eventually triumphed, winning its case by a decision of the Commissioners of the Council of Constance after the deposition of John XXIII. (1415).†

* The pamphlet is styled 'The Plea of the Fellows of Winchester College against the Bishop of Winchester's Local and Visitatorial Power over the said College,' London, 1711. As some doubt has been of late years entertained on the point, I print the essential words: 'Et nihilominus de uberioris dono gratiæ, præfatos Custodem, Scholares, Presbyteros, Clericos et Personas tam præsentes quam futuras, necnon Collegium, et locum hujusmodi, cum ambitu præfato, ab omni et omnimoda Jurisdictione quorumcumque Legatorum et Delegatorum Sedis præd', necnon quorumlibet Archiepiscoporum, Episcoporum, Judicum et Ordinariorum, præfata Sede inferiorum, ut præfertur, prorsus eximimus et totaliter liberamus, ita quod nullam Potestatem sive Jurisdictionem, etiam bassam vel minimam in Custodem, Scolares, Presbyteros, Clericos et Personas præsentes et futuras, necnon Collegium (sive) locum hujusmodi, cum eodem ambitu, per [se vel per] alios, quodomodocunque vel qualitercunque po[ssint vel] debeant exerceri (*sic*), ac hujusmodi Custodem, Scolares, Presbyteros, Clericos et Personas in eodem Collegio pro tempore degentes ac collegium et locum hujusmodi, cum eodem ambitu, Gulielmo Episcopo suisque Successoribus antedictis, quoad omnes et omnimodam hujusmodi Jurisdictionem specialem et Ecclesiasticam, auctoritate præfata, submittimus et subjicimus.'

† Evidences, vol. i., pp. 50-56.

A history of the College estates would exceed the limits prescribed to the present work. It must suffice to record the fact that the estates given to the College by the founder lay chiefly in Oxfordshire, Bucks, Berks, Wilts, Essex, and Norfolk. There have, of course, been buyings and sellings on the College estate of late years; but at the present moment the following may be mentioned as the chief centres of the College property: Buscot and West Hanney in Berks; Chackmore, Great Horwood, Hardwicke, Tingewicke, Newton Longueville, in Bucks; Hornchurch, Romford, and Takeley in Essex; Great Witchingham in Norfolk; Adderbury, Heyford Warren, and Stanton St. John in Oxfordshire; Alton Barnes, Stert, Colerne, and West Kington, in Wilts; Soho and Fenchurch Street in London.

One of the pieces of property which the College owes to its founder has a curious history. Henry II. gave to the Hospital of St. Nicholas and St. Bernard in Savoy—the famous 'hospice' in the Alps—the church and a small estate at Hornchurch in Essex, with its dependent chapelry of Romford, possibly in requital of some service to English travellers. The church lay in the royal demesne of Havering-atte-Bower. The church, being impropriated to the hospital without any obligation to appoint a 'perpetual Vicar,' was served by a few of the Savoyard priests, who established a 'cell' at Hornchurch, and (being Canons Regular, and not technically monks) were not forbidden to perform parochial duties. More than once we find the unfortunate parishioners complaining of their Savoyard pastors' inability to talk or understand English, but

to no purpose. The abuse was perfectly canonical. So matters went on till the great fourteenth-century schism in the Papacy, when the Savoyards were obliged, with their Duke, to own the Avignon Antipope, while England adhered to the Roman obedience. The temporalities of the little monastery were seized into the King's hands, and the brethren at St. Bernard's found their English estate a not very valuable asset. They were willing to sell it to William of Wykeham for 4,000 nobles in English gold and 500 francs in French gold. Each party to the transaction got the license of its own Pontiff, the Bull of the Roman Pontiff gracefully reciting that the Canons had unfortunately adhered to 'that son of iniquity' Robert, calling himself Clement VII. After his death he becomes 'Robertus damnatæ memoriæ.' The first Bull (1392) sanctioning the transaction required the College to appoint a 'perpetual Vicar'; but upon the College representing that the estate which they had bought had been saddled with no such encumbrance, this condition was rescinded (1398), and the College continued and continues to this day to receive the whole tithes, being responsible merely for serving the two churches in any way they please. The benefice is annexed to the College *pleno jure;* the only way of enforcing the liability to serve the church is by information exhibited by the Attorney-General. As a matter of fact, the College deals liberally with the two Vicars, giving them about four times the income that could legally be enforced, and that security of tenure which as mere 'Chaplains and Vicars temporal' (*i.e.*, temporary) they would not enjoy.

Anomalous as is the position of these two churches in this respect, there is a still more curious anomaly connected with them. It came to be supposed that the churches were not merely impropriated in this extraordinary manner, but were actual 'peculiars'—*i.e.*, exempt from the jurisdiction of the Bishop and Archdeacon, and subject only to that of the College; and in the last century we actually find the College exercising this jurisdiction through a Commissary, who conducted visitations, admitted churchwardens, granted probate of wills, marriage licenses, and so on.* By what means the College succeeded in acquiring this position we have not been able to discover, but it is pretty clear that it is a pure usurpation. In the Middle Ages, both before and after the transference from the Hospital to the College, we find the parish visited by both Bishop and Archdeacon in the usual way. It is not, apparently, till the time of Henry VIII. that we find the College establishing its rights of visitation against the Archdeacon of Essex; and it is much later before we come across the slightest trace of a claim to be exempt from the jurisdiction of the Bishop of London. The whole matter is now of merely antiquarian interest, since by 10 and 11 Vict., cap. 98, all peculiars have been abolished, except for a concurrent right with the Bishop to grant marriage licenses. Two other parishes in the gift of the College are in the same position, *i.e.*, Writtle and Roxwell. The Vicars still claim exemption from attending Bishops' visitations, but, it would seem, illegally, though they are probably free from that of the Archdeacon.

* The Commissary's citations, even in the present century, summon all 'schoolmasters, apothecaries and midwives' to exhibit their licences.

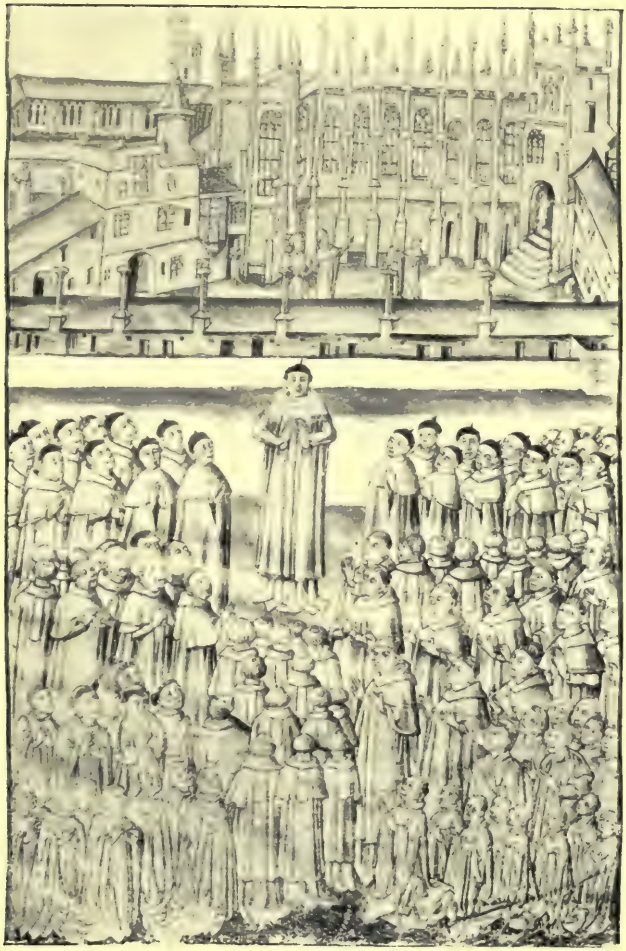
Another alien priory has found its way into the possession of the College, the church of Newton Longueville in Bucks, formerly belonging to the Cluniac Abbey of St. Faith at Longueville, near Dieppe, in Normandy, to which house it was given by the Earl of Buckinghamshire in 1142. After the dissolution of the alien priories, Henry VI. gave the church to the College at the instance of Thomas Beckington, Bishop of Bath and Wells.

It is difficult to determine the exact moment at which the College entered upon a *de facto* existence. A Grammar School was actually established at Winchester by the year 1373, though the foundation deed of Winchester College was not executed till October 20, 1382. In 1374 or 1375 we find the founder addressing to Master Nicholas Wykeham, 'Warden of our College at Oxford,' and Master Thomas Cranlegh, Warden of Winchester, and others, a letter giving directions for the impartial election of scholars for Oxford.* The election now presented was probably the first. At this date, then, the College was in full working order, though, as we have seen, there was a certain interruption of its continuity after the Bishop's prosecution in 1376. During this period of growth the scholars were, it appears, lodged in Hart Hall and Black Hall, on the site of the present Hertford College.† The foun-

* Printed by Lowth, Appendix X.; and *cf.* Leach, 'History of Winchester College,' p. 67. The date cannot be 1373 or 1376; see the Itinerary appended by Mr. Kirby to his edition of Wykeham's Register.

† There were apparently two Hart Halls—one on the site of the cloisters, which was bought by the founder; the other on the other side of the lane, which is now Hertford College, and which then belonged to Exeter. It was probably in the latter that the infant College was lodged.

dation deed was executed on November 26, 1379; the foundation-stone was laid at 8 a.m., on March 5, 1379-80, and on April 14, 1387, at 9 a.m., the Society entered into possession of the beautiful dwelling which its founder had been preparing for it. By the year 1385 the College was old enough to have abuses. 'No moderate stupour,' the Bishop tells us, 'had invaded his mind, that in his vineyard which he had planted wild vines had grown up, and the shoots which he had hoped would be fruitful were being turned into spurious vine-shoots and bringing forth bitter grapes.' There were prevalent among his scholars 'odious comparisons of nobility to ignobility, of science to science, of faculty to faculty, of country to country.' Some had 'erected their necks on high' and claimed the first places at table, and there were other 'insolences,' 'dissensions,' and 'scandals,' which the Bishop (or his rhetorical scribe) could not bring himself to describe in further detail. A commission was accordingly appointed to visit the College and conduct the needful reformation. Unfortunately, we are unable to give our readers any further account of these proceedings.



From a photograph by the [*Oxford Camera Club*

FROM WARDEN CHANDLER'S MS.

CHAPTER III

THE STATUTES

The charter of foundation reserved to the founder the right of altering his own statutes during his lifetime. This right was several times exercised. In their final form they date from the year 1400, and by them the College was (nominally) governed down to the era of modern University legislation. The basis of the code is distinctly the famous 'rule of Merton,' drawn up by Walter de Merton, Bishop of Rochester, for the typical English College of his foundation. But it is the rule of Merton enormously elaborated. Walter de Merton's statutes occupy thirty-seven printed octavo pages; William of Wykeham's extend over no less than 117. The Bishop-Chancellor's was no doubt the kind of mind which enjoyed the devising of an elaborate code of laws. He was, though in some ways a reformer, in others a reactionary. He believed in the old régime in Church and State, now rudely assailed by secular lords and heretical Lollards. He believed in the Canon Law and lawyer ecclesiastics; in the career which opened to humble youths a road to wealth and position; in going to heaven through the investiture of large moneys in

perpetual Masses; and he thought to strengthen the old system by prescribing in minute detail a life which would lead infallibly to the production of such men as he wanted. He knew well enough the kind of abuses which were incident to such foundations; but he thought that his legal acumen was equal to succeeding where other men had failed, and set himself to impose his will upon posterity with all the zest and all the minuteness of a peer tying up his land to checkmate the possible dispersive tendencies of his posterity. And on the whole, from the Bishop's point of view, the statutes are wisely drawn.

The College consisted of a Warden and seventy scholars, ten stipendiary priests or chaplains, three stipendiary clerks, and sixteen chorister boys. On entering the College, the boy from Winchester found himself a scholar or probationer for two years, at the end of which time, if approved after examination, he might be admitted a 'true and perpetual Fellow.' The word 'Fellow' (*socius*) in the Middle Ages meant simply comrade, fellow-student; in a more technical sense members of the organized and self-governing community which lived in the same Hall called one another 'Fellows.' The name naturally passed to the members of the endowed Hall or College; Wykeham took the first step towards the modern specialization of the term by reserving it (though still with the epithets 'true and perpetual') to the full or governing members of the body. It was only later and very gradually that the term 'scholar' came to signify distinctively the inferior and merely temporary class of foundationers. At New College and elsewhere, the legal style of the society is still

'Warden [or whatever be the title of the Head] and scholars.' Founder's kin had the right to be admitted full fellows at once. The founder speaks of the College as a College of scholars 'in diverse sciences and faculties,' and all faculties were to be represented. As compared with most other English Colleges, the study of Law (the only higher study, we may presume, on which the Chancellor-Bishop had bestowed much attention himself), is decidedly prominent. Ten scholars were to be students in Civil and ten in Canon Law (subject to some elaborate exceptions to meet the difficulty of having students ready at the right moment to succeed to vacant places). The remaining fifty were to study Arts or Philosophy, and then to proceed with a course of Theology. It is obvious that the period during which the lawyers would be engaged in the study of Arts would be to some extent dependent upon the occurrence of vacancies among the civilians and the canonists. It is intended that they should normally spend the two probationary years in Arts, and no one could join the ranks of the civilians after passing three years in the study of Arts; but, if necessary, the number was to be made up by the election of a scholar who had not completed his two years of probation, in which case he became *ipso facto* a full fellow. Vacancies among the canonists were filled up from among the civilians who had proceeded to the degree of Bachelor in that faculty; in point of fact, the study of Civil Law in this country, being of no use for practice in the courts of Common Law, was chiefly pursued as a preliminary or auxiliary to the study of the Canon Law, which was the road to a lucrative practice at the bar of

the ecclesiastical courts, to the numerous officialities and other offices in the entourage of Bishops, and (far more than Theology) to high ecclesiastical preferment. For the study of Theology it was necessary to take the full seven years' course of Arts, and to perform a year's 'necessary Regency,' or compulsory teaching in the schools of the University. Two of the fifty Fellows might, however, be allowed to study Medicine, and two the science of Astronomy, in which (though reckoned as one of the seven 'Arts') no special graduation was possible at Oxford. The study of Medicine was on so uncertain a footing that it was necessary to provide that, in case there should at any time be no Doctor of Medicine teaching in the University, the students of Medicine should immediately betake themselves to the study of Theology. Vacancies in the number of legal and theological students respectively were to be filled up by the senior Artist of the requisite standing (so far as possible) alternately, no room being apparently left for private choice or inclination or suitability. It seems rather to be assumed that those who had the chance would betake themselves to the more lucrative profession; refusal to adopt the prescribed faculty was to be visited by expulsion. All were to proceed to degrees in their respective faculties — a provision which was not a matter of course, since it is a curious fact that, though hardly anybody was 'ploughed' in a medieval University, only a minority of students outside the Colleges ever took degrees at all. A degree, it must be remembered, required not merely the passing of an examination, but a long course of attendance at lectures, giving lectures as a Bachelor, disputations and the like,

for which the majority, it would seem, lacked industry, ambition or ability, while some were deterred by considerations of expense. The large proportion of non-serious students in a medieval University was, as we have seen in the case of Wykeham, one of the evils which the College founders sought to correct.

In the election to vacant places there was to be a preference for the founder's kin, and (after them) to those born in places or parishes in which either College had 'spiritual or temporal possessions'; after them preference was to be given to certain counties in a certain order (seriatim)—Oxford, Berks, Wilts, Somerset, Bucks, Essex, Middlesex, Dorset, Kent (one MS. has Lancaster), Sussex and Cambridge. All must be 'poor indigent scholars, having the first clerical tonsure, adorned with good manners and of good condition, sufficiently instructed in grammar, honest of conversation, able and fit to study and desirous of advancing in study,' of at least one year's standing at Winchester, of at least fifteen and less than twenty years of age, except in the case of founder's kin, who were admissible up to thirty. An income exceeding five marks per annum, or in the case of founder's kin twenty marks, or bodily defect such as constituted a bar to ordination, disqualified for election. The places were to be filled up by an annual examination at Winchester held by the Warden of New College, one M.A. and one Jurist Fellow, at which a general visitation or 'scrutiny' into the educational and domestic management of the school was also to be held, and deficiencies corrected and reformed, or, if necessary, reported to the Bishop of Winchester. At the same time vacancies in the

College at Winchester were filled up by the Examiners or Posers (*i.e.*, Opposers), all medieval examinations taking more or less the form of a disputation. The term 'Posers' is still applied to the two Fellows who examine at Winchester, though they no longer wield the formidable visitatorial powers of their predecessors. Till recently it was the custom for Posers to appear at Winchester in Proctor's gowns, which are really only the full-dress costume of Masters of Arts.

The medieval idea of a College and its government was very different from the popular idea of modern times. According to modern ideas, a College is supposed to consist of two classes of persons—a body of Fellows or 'Dons' who teach and are understood to govern, and a body of younger men who are supposed to be taught and more or less governed. As residence after the B.A. degree is exceptional, and the graduate, or at all events the M.A., not engaged in teaching, soon ceases to have any real connection with the College, the distinction roughly corresponds with the distinction between graduate and undergraduate. At the medieval Colleges all were students; for in the Middle Ages University education was not a matter of three or four years. It took seven years to become a Master of Arts, about twelve years (in all) to become a Doctor of Canon Law and at least seventeen years to become a Doctor of Divinity. During all this time the scholar was a student, though during part of it he was also a teacher. Every full member of the society had some share in its government, though a share which varied in nature and amount according to his office and standing; but all were also subject to a mass of minute regulations and restrictions

which might be and were enforced, even upon grave persons of mature years and high University position, by minute supervision and disciplinary penalties such as forfeiture of commons. The ideal of discipline was that of a monastery or other ecclesiastical community, in which all were subject to the authority of the Head, who normally acted on behalf of the community in its external relations, but was supposed to take counsel with the whole society, or at least the seniors, in all matters of importance. At New College the system of government was decidedly elaborate. The Warden, who was required to be thirty years of age at least, was elected for life by the whole body of Fellows. The Sub-warden was elected every year by the Warden and thirteen seniors (of whom five must be Jurists); he presided over the College in the absence of the Warden, and exercised a special supervision over the Hall (in which the Warden did not commonly dine), the chapel and the servants. The Warden and Sub-warden annually appointed five Deans, one of each superior faculty (Theology, Canon Law, Civil Law) and two of Arts, who supervised the disputations of their respective faculties, and superintended both the studies and the conduct of the students. There were also three Bursars elected annually by the Warden, five Deans and six seniors (of whom one must be a civilian and another a canonist), one of the Bursars being necessarily a Jurist, who under the supervision (*per visum*) of the Warden or Sub-warden and one of the Deans received the rents and defrayed the ordinary expenses of the common life 'according to the discretion, disposition, and advice of Warden, Sub-warden, and Deans.' The power of the

Bursars was thus very restricted: the really important financial business of the society was left to the Warden. It was only in affairs of the gravest moment—such as the institution of suits which might involve 'disinheritance or grave prejudice' to the College* or in the letting of farms, the presentation to benefices, and the like—that the Warden was obliged to have the consent of the majority of the Fellows, among whom (in the case of suits) there must be ten Jurists, a provision which must, it would seem, have led to a deadlock whenever the majority of the College and the majority of the Jurists happened to disagree. As the same body had to consent to the use of the common seal, the Warden and Thirteen may be looked upon as the ordinary executive of the society.

But there are various cases in which the Warden was to act with the concurrence of some other seniors or officers. Quarrels are to be adjusted by the Sub-warden, Deans, and Bursars and other Fellows whom they may call to their assistance; if after three days their labours for the restoration of peace prove futile, the Warden is to undertake the matter with the aforesaid officers and other Fellows; and their decision is to be final. In the event of the Warden himself quarrelling with a Fellow, the Sub-warden, Deans, Bursars, and five other seniors (one to be a canonist and one a civilian) are to mediate, with a power of appeal to the Bishop of Winchester in the event of their failure to restore harmony. The power of expelling a Fellow and of dealing with some other

* So according to Statute 9, but Statute 47 seems to extend this to all suits.

grave offences is similarly vested in the Warden, Sub-warden, five Deans, three Bursars and five seniors, with apparently no power of appeal to the Visitor. In minor 'corrections and punishments,' the Warden is to act with the assent of one of the offender's Deans. The fitness of a candidate to be allowed to proceed to a degree was to be judged of by the Warden or Sub-warden and Deans, with a power (in the event of disagreement) of appeal to the whole body of civilians and canonists in the case of a Jurist or to the rest of the Fellows in the case of a theologian or artist. Absence from disputations was to be punished by the Warden and Deans, but to deal with scurrilous or offensive language the Warden required the assistance of the Sub-warden, five Deans, three Bursars and five seniors.

The Bishop of Winchester was appointed Visitor of the society, but his power was jealously limited to the matters expressly defined in the statutes. Neither he nor the College could alter one jot or tittle of the founder's statutes, or grant any dispensation from them, or even remit any penalty expressly denounced for any offence by the statutes; and most offences were punished by one or more days' subtraction of commons, increasing with the repetition of the offence. The Visitor's functions were limited to the enforcement of the statutes, and the punishment of the gravest offences by deprivation of Warden or scholar. No appeal was to be allowed against the decision of the Visitor, except in the case of sentence of deprivation or other personal sentence (*inhabilitatio personæ*) against the Warden, in which case he was not to be

debarred from resorting to any legal remedy open to him.

Three times a year a solemn chapter or scrutiny was held in the chapel on the model of the 'chapter of faults' which is usually held once a week in a monastery. On each of these occasions, after a Mass of the Holy Trinity and the solemn reading of one-third of the statutes, a formal investigation was held by the Warden and one Fellow nominated by the College into the life, conduct, and studies of every member of the foundation. No record has been preserved of these interesting meetings at New College; but fortunately the deficiency is to some extent supplied by a record of scrutiny at Merton. From that document* it appears that each member of the College was invited to criticise freely all that he had observed amiss in the conduct of the rest, and the most candid suggestions were actually made as to the peculations of the Bursars, the boots of the Chaplain, the indecent levity of a Fellow who addressed the Warden by his Christian name, and so on.

According to the medieval idea, a poor scholar did not want much. If he had literally food and raiment and books from the College library, it was considered that he ought therewith to be content, and this was all that the College founder undertook to provide for him. A shilling a week was the allowance for commons, which might, however, rise in times of scarcity to 1s. 1d. or 1s. 4d., or even, when the bushel of corn rose to 2s., to 1s. 6d. Besides this he had an annual 'livery'—*i.e.*, clothes 'of one and the same cut' (*secta*), which probably

* Printed in Rogers' 'History of Prices,' vol. ii., pp. 670-89.

implied the same colour, so far as this was consistent with University statutes, but with the form and accessories appropriate to the status or degree of the scholar. These garments were not to be pawned or sold within five years, but the owners were allowed to give away a fifth-best suit, which had stood four years' wear, to junior scholars or Fellows. A Fellow as such received no other regular allowance, unless he were a poor founder's kin Fellow, not having £10 a year of private income, in which case he shared in a sum varying with the number of such Fellows in the College, which was to be distributed among them 'for beds, boots and other necessaries'; the maximum allowance was four marks. There were, however, various ways in which a Fellow of a certain standing might add to his scanty income. Forty marks a year were to be distributed among the Fellows in priests' orders who assisted in the chapel services. Small payments were made to the numerous College officers—a mark to each Dean, and 6s. 8d. to each Bursar. Moreover, the studies of a scholar in his first three years were placed under the supervision of a tutor (*informator*), and for each pupil the tutor was entitled to receive 5s. from the College revenues, provided that his whole income from this source should not exceed £5.

The introduction of this system of tuition—destined in course of time to revolutionize Oxford education, to supersede the teaching of the University Regents, and practically to transform the University into a federation of educationally independent and isolated Colleges—is a somewhat original feature in Wykeham's scheme. At Paris the Head, or the Master of each particular faculty

into which the College was divided, was appointed with the express view of supervising studies and supplementing the University teaching. At Oxford the Head was essentially a guardian of the College property, and had no educational functions. Walter de Merton appointed one senior student in ten or in five (*vicinarius* or *decanus*) to superintend and help the studies as well as supervise the conduct of the rest; William of Wykeham distinctly separates the functions of supervision from those of teaching, and may therefore (although, like so many other reformers, he was only carrying further a change already initiated) fairly be regarded as the founder of the distinctively English system of College tuition. We have seen how unerringly he had discovered one weak point in the medieval system—the premature abandonment of the Grammar School for the University Latin Logic Lecture. By the system of tutors he aimed at correcting another—the want of supervision and personal teaching for the younger University students, who were left to profit, or not to profit, by formal non-catechetical lectures in the public schools, when they should have been construing or answering questions in class or performing written exercises. The appointment of tutors was at least a step in the right direction.

It was only the probationers who received any considerable portion of their actual instruction in College. But for all there were disputations. The Bachelors of Arts disputed 'questions or problems' twice a week in the hall—probably after dinner or supper—during the greater part of the year. In the early part of the Long Vacation, when the lectures in the schools

ceased, there were also 'intrinsic [*i.e.*, College] lectures on particular sciences.' The scholars and Sophist Fellows (*i.e.*, Fellows who had passed Responsions) disputed sophisms once a week, at which all Masters of Arts (except D.D.'s) were to attend. There was a disputation in Canon and in Civil Law in alternate weeks, attended by students of both faculties. The theological disputation took place in the ante-chapel once a week. On these occasions the seniors, and especially the Deans, were to help the juniors.

Small as was the normal allowance of a Fellow of New College, he was much better provided for than many continental collegians. In some of the continental Colleges commons ceased altogether during the Long Vacation; in the English College it went on all the year round, and even in the Long Vacation not more than twenty Fellows were to be absent at a time. The Parisian bursary often ceased when the student had fully graduated in his faculty; at New College he might keep his fellowship as long as he continued to study or teach in Oxford, though the founder would probably never have dreamed of a man continuing through life to prefer his modest allowance in College to the 'fat benefice' for which all this education was training him. Liberal allowances were made in case of illness. The heavy expenses of graduation—consisting partly in fees or presents, but chiefly in the banquets offered by inceptors to graduates—were to be paid by the College in cases of scholars whose relations were unable to pay them for them. The maximum fees fixed by the founder are

interesting, as supplying a table of the usual expenses not elsewhere obtainable. They are

	£	s.	d.
Responsions		13	4
Determination (*i.e.*, B.A.)		13	4
Inception as M.A.	1	6	8
Bachelor of Decrees, Civil Law, or Medicine		13	4
Bachelor of Divinity	1	0	0
Inception as D.C.L., M.D., or D.D. ...	1	6	8
B.D.	1	0	0
D.D.	1	6	8

These allowances, it may be observed, are on a minimum scale, and it may be doubted whether Wykeham's scholars really succeeded in doing the thing on the College allowance. The scale of the banquet required depended upon the wealth of the graduates. A moderately rich man often spent £10 or more on becoming a Doctor.

When the Fellow had resided long enough and had failed to obtain promotion from any other source, the founder had provided benefices in the country—sometimes vicarages of parishes where the great tithes were impropriated by the College, but sometimes fatter rectories, whether appendent to College manors or independently acquired—to which he could retire. This system of 'College livings' is particularly characteristic of the English Colleges.

If in his allowances for the Fellows William of Wykeham was only following in the footsteps of Walter de Merton, he went far beyond him in the magnificence of his provision for the Warden. The

Warden of Merton no doubt passed rich (among the Fellows) on 50 marks a year: the Warden of New College had £40. The Warden of Merton enjoyed the use of three horses (*evectiones*) at the expense of the College: the Warden of New College (with the Fellow who attended upon him when he rode abroad on College business)* had six, three times as many as certain canons allowed to a Cathedral Dean. The Warden of Merton dined at a high table in Hall with the Sub-warden and three chaplains. At New College the Sub-warden presided over the Hall (like the Prior of an Abbey), while the Warden lived in a separate house of his own (like an Abbot or a Dean), dined in a 'hall' of his own, kept a cook who sometimes dined with the Fellows, and an undercook who was entertained occasionally at the scholars' table. In chapel he wore an amice of fur (*amicio de griseo*) like a Cathedral Canon. He was allowed to hold other benefices, and no doubt the founder desired that he should do so. He wanted his Warden to be as big a personage as possible. More than any previous founder, William of Wykeham succeeded in making his College not a mere eleemosynary provision for poor scholars, but an ecclesiastical house which might be on a level, in the modest dignity of its corporate life, with the minor monastery or respectable collegiate church.

As we follow the development of the College idea through the statutes of successive founders, we notice

* The Warden required considerable attendance for other reasons than dignity alone. He had to collect sums due to the College, and to bring the money safely to Oxford. As late as the reign of Henry VIII. we find sums paid for bows and arrows for the Warden's servant for the progress (Bursar's Rolls, 1518-19).

an increasing prominence of the ecclesiastical aspect. To some extent this was a particular manifestation of a tendency traceable in medieval life generally—a tendency towards an increasing emphasis upon the external machinery of devotion. All through the Middle Ages there was an increase both in the number of Masses daily said and in the importance attached alike to the personal hearing of Masses and to the getting them said by others. The Merton statutes only require attendance at Mass and the canonical hours 'on festivals and other days when they have leisure for it': William of Wykeham required all his scholars to attend Mass every day. Walter de Merton has scarcely any regulations about Divine service beyond providing chaplains to say Mass and the canonical hours in the parish church which had been impropriated to the College. William of Wykeham had the liveliest belief in that whole doctrine of the 'treasury of merits' and all the concomitant abuses against which Wycliffe was writing and preaching. The Chaplains were to sing the Divine Office daily (*cum cantu et nota*) according to the use of Sarum, as also the seven penitential psalms with the Litany for the Living, *Placebo* and *Dirige* and the accustomed commendations for the dead. Seven Masses were to be said in the chapel daily. It will be observed that even now it is not contemplated that each Chaplain-priest will necessarily celebrate every day. Elaborate regulations are laid down as to the kind of Mass to be said (*De Sancta Maria, ob requiem, de die*) and the persons—the King and other benefactors of the founder or his College—to whose posthumous benefit each per-

formance was to redound. Four times a year 'the exequies of the dead' were to be sung for the same benefactors, and attended by the whole College. Once a week came the Office of the Dead for the same favoured souls, and also for the Bishops of Winchester; and once a year the obit of the founder, when a special distribution was made among all members of the College present on the occasion. A special obit is also provided for John Buckingham, Bishop of Lincoln, who gave the College an acre and a revenue of thirty shillings at Swalcliffe, near Banbury, together with the church of Swalcliffe and adjoining church of Adderbury. The gift, no doubt, came out of the property of the see, and his successors are therefore admitted to participation in the spiritual compensation. William of Wykeham has the credit of being the first College founder who inaugurated that system of daily compulsory attendance at chapel which has now been abolished in deference to the scruples or the laziness of the modern undergraduate. But even at their daily Mass the scholars were not encouraged to attend to the service for their own private edification, but rather to be still gratefully labouring for the good of their founder's soul by repeating fifty *Aves* and five *Paters*, though they were at liberty to say these at other times. Other prayers are appointed to be said on rising and on going to bed, including a prayer for the founder; each scholar is also to repeat in the course of the day a *De profundis* and certain prayers for the founder, his parents, Richard II., and his consort, Queen Anne. On Sundays and holidays the whole College were to attend Mass, matins, and first and second vespers, and to march in procession

round the cloisters clad in surplices and hoods. On such days a Fellow officiated instead of a Chaplain, on the greater festivals the Warden or 'one of the principal and more dignified persons of the College.' This custom is still kept up by the Warden or a Fellow taking the service on the specified days.

Amid all this elaborate machinery of devotion (as need hardly be said to anyone familiar with medieval life), the idea that these boys of sixteen and upwards, destined for the priesthood, might want some instruction in the principles of the Christian religion, or any advice or encouragement about life and conduct, never entered into the founder's head. Any such provision would have probably carried with it in his view a dangerous savour of 'Lollardy.' For men like Wykeham religion was almost wholly an affair of *opus operatum*, of external performances, and this could be secured by statute. Only once a year, on the Feast of the Annunciation, is a sermon to be preached in College. Sermons—except, perhaps, when preached by well-disciplined friars—always brought with them a danger of heresy. There were, indeed, the University sermons, but these would often at this time be preached by Lollards. Wykeham would probably not be particularly anxious that his scholars should attend them. The only religious instruction provided is instruction in plain-song and the mechanical art of saying Mass by the Chaplains. The theological teaching of the schools was, of course, only for the theologians. Wykeham's statutes are a typical and peculiarly elaborate expression of a religious ideal which his contemporary and enemy, Wycliffe, had already undermined,

and which is now probably almost as unintelligible to the educated Catholic as to the Protestant mind.

It is hard to present a living picture of life in an institution; for the real life of an institution—its daily talk, its amusements, its ambitions, its traditional jests and stories—is what passes away. In the whole history of New College there are few striking personalities—least of all in the medieval period. Of life in a medieval College we can usually reproduce little except its regulations and the way in which they were broken; and in the case of New College we have few records of the latter and livelier topic. All we can do is to reconstruct the life according to statute.

The men lived three or four in a room. The rooms on the ground-floor had three windows, and held three scholars; the upper rooms had four windows and four occupants. At each window was a 'study' (*i.e.*, a sort of bureau), perhaps rather larger than the old Winchester 'toys,' which contained a shelf or two for books, a backless seat, and a desk to read or write at. The windows, of course, were unglazed, but were possibly provided with linen shutters. There was no fire, possibly some straw on the floor. The beds stood in the middle of the room. In Wykeham's comparatively luxurious College there was to be a separate bed for each scholar. To promote 'love, amity, and charity,' the Jurists were to be mixed up with other men in the chamber; and in each there was a Fellow 'more advanced than his other chamber-fellows in maturity, discretion, and knowledge,' who was to be responsible for their diligence and good conduct, and report periodically to the Warden, Sub-warden, and Deans. The Chaplains,

clerks, and choristers lived very thick together in the dark, gloomy chambers beneath the hall. There is an express provision that no inhabitant of an upper chamber, in 'washing his head, feet, or hands,' or otherwise, should upset 'water, wine, or beer, or any other liquors whatever' (we suppress further particulars) 'to the annoyance of those in the lower.' The provision throws an interesting light on the exact extent of our predecessors' ablutions, which were probably well up to the highest medieval standard. The beds were made, and other such service performed, by the choristers. But there were other servants besides the choristers, and the choristers were not to be sent or taken out of College or to be allowed to go out without leave of Warden, Dean, Sacrist, or Precentor. A Doctor of Divinity might be allowed to keep a private servant at his own expense. As in all medieval statutes the employment of women servants is sternly forbidden. If a 'lotor' cannot be found, the dirty linen might be sent through one of the servants of the College to a 'lotrix,' but even so she must be 'of such age and condition that no sinister suspicion can, or ought to, fall on her.'

The hour of rising is not specified, but lectures in the schools probably began at six. Breakfast was not officially recognised, but there is reason to hope that those who could afford it took a 'jentaculum'—a crust of bread and a flagon of beer—at the buttery before going out to the schools. Lectures might last for two hours or more, after which (more probably than before) the scholar might find time to attend a Mass in chapel, and would then resume his studies till dinner—probably

at eleven. During dinner-time, or part of it, the Bible was read by one of the clerks or an undergraduate scholar. The rest were first to listen to the reading in silence, and then to speak only—alike at table and elsewhere within the College walls—'in modest and worthy mode,' and in Latin, except when compelled to speak some other tongue by the presence of strangers or laymen. The choristers assisted the servants to wait in Hall, and fed on the broken meats afterwards, but this allowance might be supplemented out of the College revenues if necessary.

It was the founder's melancholy conviction (though such words are almost 'common form' in medieval statutes) that 'after bodily refection by the taking of food and drink, men are commonly rendered more prompt to scurrilities, turpiloquy, and (what is worse) detraction and strife, and the perpetuation of very many other evil and dangerous acts, and, shrinking less than on an empty stomach from such excesses, excite simple persons to strifes, contumelies and other excesses.' Hence, there was to be no lingering in Hall after dinner or supper, but after grace and the passing round of the loving-cup (*potus caritatis*) all were to retire to their studies 'or other places.' After one o'clock there would be more lectures and studies. Supper was at five. At curfew there were 'potations in Hall,' and it is possible that (though not mentioned in the statutes) there may have been a similar light refreshment, known as 'nuncheons' (*i.e.*, none-cheons or noon-cheons, whence our word 'luncheon'), in the interval between dinner and supper. Only at great festivals, on which the Warden dined in Hall, when there were 'epulæ

lautiores' in his honour, was fire ministered to the Fellows in the hall,* and only then were the scholars allowed to sit round the great central brazier after dinner or supper and indulge in 'songs and other solaces,' or listen to 'poems, chronicles of the realm, wonders of this world, or other things which befit the clerical state.'

This is a pleasant recognition, scanty as it is, of the fact that the age of Wykeham—an age of decadence in the region of scholasticism and Latin literature generally—was also the age which gave the birth of English literature; the age not only of the offensive Bible-translations of Wycliffe, but of Chaucer, of Mandeville, of the 'Mort d'Arthur,' and of the first English Chronicles. It was only at very light moments that serious scholars could be allowed to occupy themselves with such frivolities.

These chronicles of the realm and wonders of the world are the only recreations contemplated by the austere College founder's statutes. Wykeham himself had lived in Courts and palaces, where, doubtless, life was not altogether life according to statute, but for poor scholars amusement was not supposed to be necessary—just as many people now think that it is unnecessary for the lower classes—partly because they were scholars, partly because they were clerks, partly because they were comparatively poor. Most of the amusements which might naturally have occurred to them are prohibited. The amusements of the age were, indeed,

* It is not quite clear whether there was fire at all on ordinary days, or whether it is meant merely that the fire was not kept up during the evening—perhaps the former.

From a photograph by the] [*Oxford Camera Club*

THE HALL

chiefly the amusements of the rich; and Wykeham held that it was 'not meet for the poor, and especially those living on alms, to take the children's bread and cast it to dogs for them to eat.' He recalls also the text, 'Woe unto those who to their sin play with the birds of heaven,' and therefore prohibits any scholar of his from 'keeping a harrier or any other dog whatever, ferrets, *sive nisus*, or any other hawk whatsoever.' What would he have said at the spectacle of rich men's sons riding to hounds on horses kept by their College scholarships? Games of dice, chess, hazard, or ball, and every other 'noxious, inordinate, unlawful, and unhonest' game, are similarly forbidden, especially any game 'ministering cause or occasion of loss of money, things, or goods whatsoever, and also that most vile and horrid sport of shaving beards' (probably after the manner practised upon sailors crossing the line for the first time at sea) 'which is wont to be practised on the night preceding the Inception of the Master of Arts.' There was to be no hurling or shooting of stones, balls, or other missiles within the College walls (not even in the garden), by which damage might be done to the buildings. There are to be 'no wrestlings, dances, jigs, songs, shoutings, tumults, or inordinate noises, effusions of water, beer, or other liquor, or tumultuous games,' in Hall, lest they should incommode the chaplains and choristers in the room below. Another reason for the prohibition of 'leapings and wrestlings, or other incautious or inordinate games in the hall, or perchance in the chapel itself,' is the danger of shock to the images in the chapel reredos attached to the wall dividing the east end of the chapel from the hall.

The scholars were to walk abroad only two and two, for walking alone in the Middle Ages was considered 'bad form,' partly, perhaps, as dangerous, partly as exposing a man to moral suspicion (nobody was above suspicion in the Middle Ages), and still more as '*infra dig.*' in persons of the slightest pretension to gentility or respectability. A man of family or position always went abroad with a numerous retinue, and even poor but respectable scholars must at least keep each other company. In modern Jesuit schools suspicion is carried further, and the rule is to walk in threes. There was a special servant to carry the scholars' heavy clasped books to the schools for them, a point which shows Wykeham's solicitude for the respectability of his scholars, since the poorest students used to carry other people's books for them for a consideration. All through the statutes there is a great dread of quarrelling, always a prominent amusement with people who have no other, particularly when living in very close quarters. There is, for instance, a prohibition (constantly met with in all scholastic statutes) of 'comparisons of family to family, nobility to nobility, or ignobility,' as well as of other 'injurious, tedious, scandalous, or opprobrious language.' How far the founder's judicious dispositions really succeeded in securing immunity from these chronic disorders in the early days of his foundation we do not know (but for the early Visitation already mentioned), for none but the most formal records of that period survive.

Wykeham's statutes exhibit extraordinary care, foresight, legal sagacity and knowledge of the world.

The subsequent history of his foundation will illustrate to how small an extent the most cunningly devised legal instruments can really prevent a founder's benefactions being used, even when the letter of his enactments is scrupulously observed, for purposes exactly opposite to those which he had intended, under the altered circumstances of a (to him) unimaginable age.

CHAPTER IV

THE BUILDINGS

It is not difficult for us to picture the home which the founder had prepared for Warden Nicholas de Wykeham and the scholars of the College of Seynte Marie Collegie of Wynchestre, when they entered under the gateway tower, with litany and solemn procession, at nine o'clock on the morning of Palm Sunday, 1387. 'Our ancient and honourable house, which our fathers builded,' still remains to us, retaining, amid the changes that the years have brought, something of the appearance it presented to the eyes of the first Wykehamists as they came to take possession of the promised land. The quadrangle on which they gazed was, but for the addition of the third story, much as it stands to-day. The west side was filled chiefly by the principal gateway and the Warden's house with its elegant staircase towers, the east and south sides by the chambers of the scholars. On the north side, then as now, chapel and hall bore witness to the greatness of the founder's aim and the grandeur of his design. The cloisters completed the noble equipment for the services of the Church, and offered a resting-place for the dead. The gardens,

From a photograph by the [*Oxford Camera Club*

THE FRONT GATEWAY

bounded by the city wall, increased the material comfort of the living; and the library, on the east side of the quadrangle, and extending towards the garden, served for the intellectual nourishment of Wykeham's scholars.

The history of the buildings may best be narrated by describing in the first place those of the original foundation. The period is that known to architects as the transition from the Decorated to the Perpendicular style, and from the work of Wykeham the movement received a very considerable impulse. Chapel and hall formed, as at Winchester, one large building, extending along the whole length of the north side of the quadrangle, and displaying an unbroken line of roof adorned with Wykeham's characteristic pinnacles. The experiment of placing the hall at the east end of the chapel, and erecting a reredos to replace the normal east window, was abandoned when, a few years later, the buildings at Winchester were designed; but it was again carried out by Waynflete, the founder of Magdalen, and by Chichele at All Souls'. In another respect the chapel of New College was an experiment. It consists of choir and transepts only, and has no nave. This T shape became afterwards the normal form of a college chapel in Oxford, and it is probable that Wykeham's device at New College was immediately followed by the abandonment of a nave at Merton.* The foundation-stone was laid by the founder himself on March 5, 1379-80, and on December 13, 1383, Pope Urban VI. granted a Bull for the dedication of the chapel. The

* *Cf.* 'Merton College,' by Mr. B. W. Henderson, in the present series, pp. 205, 206.

chapel was dedicated in honour of the Virgin and the Annunciation, and the feast of the dedication was kept annually on the 15th of November, when the service was sung, and a sermon preached in the vulgar tongue by the Warden or one of 'the majores personæ.'* In accordance with the requirements of the Act of 1536 regarding holy-days, the date of the feast of the dedication was changed to the first week in October. It ceased to be observed during the reign of Edward VI.; but the Bursars' Rolls show that it was revived under Mary, and was held for the last time in the first year of the reign of Elizabeth. Of the general arrangement of the chapel we know little, and our only information regarding the number of altars comes from an entry in the Bursars' Rolls for 1509-10, a payment made for candles to stand 'coram Altaribus Trinitatis Angelorum et Apostolorum,' and from a subsequent mention of altar-cloths 'pro tribus altaribus inferioribus.'

The most notable feature of the chapel was, of course, the reredos. The exact arrangement of the figures cannot now be traced. The statutes speak of 'an image of the Most Holy and Undivided Trinity, a representation of the Holy Rood with an image of the Crucified, and images of the Blessed Virgin and many other saints.' We also learn from the statutes that the chapel and its images, its windows of glass, its wall spaces, and 'other beautiful works,' were, in accordance with medieval usage, 'adorned with many colours.' The chapel of to-day, still beautiful with the cold beauty of perfect proportion, is but a pale shadow of Wykeham's building. Its colour has gone, and it

* Warden's Note-book, p. 58.

no longer possesses the equipment for the gorgeous medieval ritual—'gold and silver vessels, vestments, cups, and other ecclesiastical ornaments . . . cloth of gold and of silk.' Various ornaments were presented to the chapel in the course of the first century of its history, and the gifts included an organ (probably replacing an earlier one), which the Liber Albus records to have been erected in 1458 at the expense of a certain William Port. It stood, as Antony Wood relates, 'in a loft supported by wooden pillars, joining to the vestry door on the north side of the upper end' of the chapel. The original stalls have been partially preserved, and the *miserere* seats testify to the beauty of the original carved work.

The chapel partially escaped the first ravages of the Reformation. The Visitors of King Edward VI. contemplated the suppression of the choir school, but took no active steps in the matter, and they ordered the destruction of the stained glass windows. The College destroyed altars and images, and promised to carry out the injunction about the windows 'whenever they were rich enough to replace them.' That time never arrived, and windows, stalls, and reredos alike survived till 1567, only to be condemned at Bishop Horne's visitation, which is said to have been made by Queen Elizabeth's express wish. At the visitation by Bishop Horne in 1567, the altar was ordered to be reduced to the level of the stalls, and every image to be committed to the flames, while the reredos was to be destroyed and the east end covered with a plaster wall, 'on which let sentences of Holy Scripture be inscribed.' Horne's injunctions were fully complied with, and the

east end of the chapel was changed beyond all recognition. An attempt at 'restoration' was made in 1636, when, according to Antony Wood,

'the old stalls and desks being pulled down, these that are now [*c.* 1680] standing were set up, and the wainscot adorned with curious painting, containing the figures of the Apostles, Saints, etc. At the same time also, a very fine screen, curiously painted and sumptuously gilt, was erected, and the floors of the inner and outer Chapel being taken up, were paved with black and white marble of a diamond figure, as they still remain.'*

All this was, doubtless, part of the Laudian revival; and how far the 'figures of the Saints' survived the changes of the Commonwealth we cannot tell. The organ,† at all events, was destroyed after the surrender of the city in 1646.

With the Restoration came, of course, a new interest in the chapel. The society at once set about procuring a new organ, and they entered into an agreement with a Mr. Dalham that he should erect, for £350, an organ the pipes of which were to be 'of especially good metal, and sweet and musical'; but the price was afterwards raised to £420 to cover the additional expense of trumpet and cornet stops, of the existence of which in other organs the College had heard rumours. A new loft was built for this organ 'over the screen in the

* The College archives contain references to 'one Hawkins who gilded our Chapel, and drew the pictures there.' The panels contained representations of Apostles, Evangelists, Patriarchs and Prophets, some of which are still preserved in the Bursary.

† The organ presented by Port had been repaired in 1540, and practically renewed in 1598, when the College paid £10 for 'making the orgaines,' and £22 for the wainscot frame and for gilding.

Chapel at the entrance of the Quire,' and the case was made 'open in the midst to let in more light from the Western Window.' The pipes and the 'frieze or border of the said loft' were gilded, and pictures were painted 'in the panes* of the organ loft within the Quire and without, as also some pictures under the said loft.'

The decoration of the east end proved a source of much difficulty. A proposal to purchase some hangings from Worcester Cathedral was rejected for various reasons. The lustre had perished, and the gold was not seen; the great man in the arras had no name, and they knew not who he was, *especially at some distance;* the Communion-table, or altar, would cover some part of the chiefest work made to be seen, viz., Melchisedec's entertainment of Abraham; and, besides, it would be necessary to erect two pillars and a canopy. An alternative suggestion to commission 'an excellent artist, whose name is said to be Theodore Van Thulden,' to paint a picture of the offerings of the Three Kings, was negatived, because 'the £700 demanded for the great picture was thought by some an impudent price.' So it was decided to erect, paint and gild 'a frame of wainscot at the east end,' and to purchase 'a remnant of Cloth of Gold offered unto the College' by the Principal of Brasenose to serve as an altar-piece. The organ was finished in 1663, but the decoration of the choir was not completed till the close of the century. While the alterations were in progress, some traces of the old reredos were

* An account of the year 1780 contains a payment of £1 4s. for 'new leading 72 feet of glass in your screen.' In the same document is a per contra payment of £2 14s. for 'the Glass as came out of the screen in the Chapell, 72 foot at 9d. per foot.' Can this have been some of the original glass? (*Cf.* p. 77.)

discovered, but the idea of restoring it did not occur to anybody, and finally the work was entrusted 'to our ingenious countryman Mr. Henry Cook,' for the results of whose ingenuity the guide-books of the early part of the eighteenth century have a profound admiration.

'As we enter the Chantry or inner Chapel, the most striking object is the Altar-piece. . . . It represents the Concave of a Semi-Rotunda in the Ionic order, with a Cupola adorned with curious Mosaic Work, in which the East End of the Chapel seems to terminate. The Altar, which is partly built of wood and partly painted, intercepting in some Degree the View at right Angles, greatly favours the *Deceptio;* particularly two large open Pannels in the lower Part thereof, which have a wonderful Effect. In the upper Part of the Altar, which is painted in such a Manner as to seem the Finishing of the Woodwork that supports it, between two Columns of the Composite Order rising in just Proportion to the Corinthian below, is a Frame and Pannel, wherein is represented the Salutation of the Virgin Mary; and above the Entablature hangs hovering a most beautiful Cloud with great Numbers of Angels and Cherubs in various Attitudes, waiting the return of the Angel Gabriel.'

The College accounts, from time to time, contain records of payments made for painting this screen and 'picking in the Ground of Cherubs and Stars, and Shadowing Flowers different Colours.'*

* Some incidental references to the appearance of the chapel are preserved in the verses written in honour of the visit of the Duchess of York (Mary of Modena) in 1683 (Bodl. Lib. MS. Rawlinson, Poet. 19, fol. 86, 87). As the verses have never been published, and as they are of considerable interest, they are here subjoined:

'Madam! Forgive the zeal of Him that Dares
Detayn you here from your best welcome—Prayers:

In 1773 Lord Radnor presented, as an altar-piece, a picture of the Adoration of the Shepherds, attributed to some pupil of Caracci, which was removed to the hall some sixteen years afterwards. With the exception of the windows, which are reserved for separate treatment, no further changes of importance were made in the chapel till towards the end of the eighteenth century, when it became evident that the roof required to be strengthened.

No Place for you but in our Chappell's found,
A Sacred Person upon Holy Ground.
In Whome are Joyn'd, as in yon Antique Paint,
Prophets and Kings, a Princess and a Saint,
In Whome Heav'ne Does their Prophesys Fulfill,
Giving the Church a nursing Mother still,
Born to Revive, to Cherish, and Advance,
And give poor Baffled Virtue Countenance,
To bring 't in Vogue, and make 't be understood
'Tis truly Gallant to be truly Good:
For now all see that onely Pleases you,
Will make Devotion grow Court-Fashion too.
How may Wee Pay such Homage as we Owe,
When more's your due than's fit for us to know!
That Glorious Day much to your Highness ought
Who Pray'd as heartily as his Highness fought.
Our Canons had but beat the Ayre, as theirs,
But for the thundering legion of your Prayers.
Since Saxon Kings did to Christ's sceptre yeeld,
And good Queen Bertha first a Church Rebuild,
Our Church, with joyfull thanks, we must confess,
Ne'er knew so fayre, so kind a Patroness.
Will to do Good and Pow'r are met so well,
That my Prophetique Spirit bids me Tell,
You'll be the greatest Foundress in our Days,
And add to th' olde, or some new Colledge Rays,
Where your Majestys Statue shall appear,
Exalted as our Lady's Image heer,
And you shall Live, when Death shall you Prefer
To a High Place in Heaven, and nigh to Her.'

The condition of the roof led to a general scheme of restoration, some of the details of which we can gather from the College records, and others from the correspondence of Thomas Warton, the Poet Laureate, who was Camden Professor of Ancient History at the time, and of Daniel Prince, the Oxford bookseller and antiquary. Their letters are preserved in Nichols' 'Literary Anecdotes' and in his 'Illustrations of Literary History.' The College accounts of the year 1779 contain an entry: '2 joiners 4¾ Dayes to Cutting out the Panel in the Wainscott in the Altarpiece and Cutting out the Stone Work.' The sculpture thus disclosed must have been the 'series of basso-relievo of the life of the Virgin Mary' of which Warton speaks, and a portion of which may now be seen in the cloisters. Prince tells us that it was because this 'small opening presented such an elegant specimen that the Society have now [1789] opened the whole, and purpose to have it restored under the direction of Sir Joshua Reynolds and Mr. Wyatt,' and he and Warton agree in their descriptions of the discoveries made on the removal of Cooke's incongruous rotunda.

'It was well known at New College' (writes Prince) 'that the whole of the east end of the chapel was ordered by Horne, Bishop of Winchester . . . to be completely hid by plastering up the whole, and in the operation, where any parts projected beyond this level, they cut all even. . . . The images are all demolished. What remains is the Gothic architecture carried on to the ceiling, with the niches empty. The bottom row has good sculpture of the Nativity, etc., the human figures about the scale of 9 inches.'

Warton mentions that the niches were 6 feet high, 'the canopies and rich traceries all hacked to pieces.' Chalmers, in his 'History of Oxford' (1810), adds that 'the ground colour of these niches was of a deep ultramarine blue, and the exterior edges of the shafts of the niches richly gilt.' Wyatt professed himself confident of restoring the reredos to its original condition, but the result of his work was the erection of empty plaster niches, involving the removal of such of the original stonework as had survived the efforts of Horne and Cooke. 'The good sculpture of the Nativity,' etc., was replaced by the existing series of five compartments of alto-relievo in marble by Westmacott, representing the Salutation, the Nativity, the Descent from the Cross, the Resurrection, and the Ascension.

The alterations in the east end were completed by Wyatt's painting the altar in blue and gold, which, when it was 'displayed to the publick,' caused, according to Prince, such emotion in Warton that 'Poor Thomas fetched such sighs as I could not have thought he could breathe.' All traces of this colouring have now disappeared. A fierce controversy raged over Wyatt's treatment of the east end, but Warton himself approved of Wyatt's other performances. 'They are new-roofing the choir of New College Chapel,' he says, 'at a considerable expense—woodwork in the Gothic style in a good taste.' Probably what modern taste can least forgive Wyatt at New College is the roof, which seems to have satisfied contemporary critics. He destroyed the old wooden roof (the beauty of which may be guessed from Wykeham's surviving roof in the chapel at Winchester), and replaced it by one

made of plaster, with sham groin-work, altering the pitch of the roof, and concealing a portion of the upper part of the reredos. The 'woodwork in a good taste' consisted of a reconstruction of the screen and the building of a new organ-loft. The stall-seats which had been erected in 1636 were placed in the ante-chapel, and the screen was entirely remodelled, and extended up to the altar-steps, thus gaining in length what it had lost in breadth. Part of the original carved wood was retained, and the new lath and plaster canopied stalls were painted in white and gold. This brilliant colouring gave way to a dowdier hue at some time before living memory; but since the restoration of 1879, some traces of it may still be seen. The new organ-loft was constructed to serve as a frame for the Reynolds window, which had been by this time inserted. It was, according to our guide-book, 'a most superb piece of Gothic architecture, raised over the entrance of the choir at the west end, and very fitly corresponding with the richness and beauty of the altarpiece.' Large plaster canopies were erected over the stalls. The whole effect of the interior decoration was, says Prince, more and more admired as the work approached completion in 1793; 'the internal colour,' he adds, 'a warm white.'

In the year 1839 the floor of the ante-chapel was repaved, but otherwise (but for the repainting of the stalls) the building remained as Wyatt had left it till Sir Gilbert Scott's restoration in 1879. Scott reopened the vestry door, which Wyatt had closed in lengthening the stalls. He also restored to their original use the *miserere* seats which Wyatt had employed to decorate

the scholars' seats immediately under the stalls, and he replaced Wyatt's plaster canopy by one of oak, which unfortunately he made too high,* so that it cuts off the legends in the windows. Wyatt's roof was also removed, and Scott took the serious responsibility of substituting an open oak roof of considerably greater elevation. Whatever may be said in extenuation of this proceeding, it is unquestionable that it has altered the original proportions of the chapel, and destroyed the symmetry and beauty of the exterior. An attempt to preserve the original proportions by rejecting the design involving the higher roof, in favour of another which Scott submitted to the College, was made by the Rev. W. A. Spooner, but without success—to the lasting regret of some of the guilty generation and of all its successors. The only remaining alteration completely carried out by Sir Gilbert Scott was the construction of a new organ-loft. The organ of 1663 had been repaired in 1775 by Green, and it remained in use till 1879, when it was partially replaced by Willis, for whose organ a new case was designed. Important parts of the earlier work are, however, still in use, and in this sense the organ is one of the oldest in England.†

It had been intended that Scott's work should include the restoration of the east end of the chapel, but his death prevented him from completing his scheme. Scott had removed Wyatt's plaster reredos and had

* The renovation of the stalls was not fully carried out till after Scott's death.

† Two stops by Dalham (1664) remain in use—the Great Double Diapason and the Choir Flute—as well as several of those inserted by Green in 1774, including the Great Open Diapason.

restored the niches in stone after fourteenth-century designs, but on the lines of Wyatt's plaster erection, for which the architect had the guidance of the traces of the original work that survived Cooke's rotunda.

After Scott's death the completion of the restoration was entrusted to Mr. Pearson, and it was decided to restore the figures in such a way as to embody the idea of the *Te Deum:*

> 'To Thee all Angels cry aloud. . . .
> The glorious company of the Apostles praise Thee.
> The goodly fellowship of the Prophets praise Thee.
> The noble army of Martyrs praise Thee.
> The Holy Church throughout all the world doth acknowledge Thee.'

Under a representation of the Lord in Glory is the top tier of niches, containing a representation of the Agnus Dei, with angels on each side. The centrepiece of the second tier is the Crucifixion, and to the right and left are Apostles and Saints. In the third row is a figure of the Virgin and Child, with, on the one side, King Richard II., a benefactor of the founder, and the following martyrs: St. John, St. Jude, St. Simon, St. James the Greater, St. Thomas, and St. Philip. On the other side are leading representatives of the Church in England: William of Wykeham, St. Augustine, the Venerable Bede, St. Anselm, the Wykehamist Archbishop Warham, and the Wykehamist Bishop Ken. The lowermost tier represents Prophets and Christian Teachers. The statues were presented between 1890 and 1892 by members of the College.

The windows in the ante-chapel, with the exception

of the west window, consist of glass inserted either here or in the chapel by the founder, who was specially interested in stained windows. The legend which they bear, 'Ora pro Gulielmo de Wykeham . . .' sufficiently indicates that they date from his lifetime. All the windows in chapel and ante-chapel were probably of this glass, and when it was removed to comply with Horne's injunctions, it was, fortunately, not destroyed. Part of it seems to have been replaced in the chapel about the end of the seventeenth century; and the 'Order-Book of the Warden and Thirteen' for 1775, when new windows had been placed in the north side, contains an injunction that an opinion be obtained 'regarding the old glass taken from the chapel.' The opinion was favourable, and it was decided to place the glass in the ante-chapel. In the accounts of the following year there is a bill for 'taking down the Figures out of the three windows, altering the Positions, repairing Damages, and replacing with some fresh Pedestals,' and for 'eight figures done, remaining in the Cloysters ready to be put up in the Ante-Chapel.' The ingenuity of the workmen in 'altering the Positions' led to several mistakes in the arrangement of the windows. Attention was first drawn to these errors by Mr. Charles Winston in a learned article on the glass in New College Chapel and Hall, contributed in 1852 to the *Archæological Journal*' (vol. ix.). A scheme for cleaning and repairing the windows was completed by Mr. Powell in 1900, and under his care the errors have been rectified, and the windows present what is, perhaps, the best collection of fourteenth-century glass in this country. Their beauty of tone and colour, and their harmony

with the architecture of the building, render it hard to forgive the vandalism which has robbed the chapel of so many similar adornments.

The windows on the south side of the chapel are traditionally ascribed to pupils of Rubens, but were certainly finished by Price, from whom the college purchased them 'at the expense of 100*l.* per Window,' one window being inserted every year, between 1737 and 1740. Those on the north side were produced by Mr. Peckitt of York between 1765 and 1774, the three nearest the screen from designs by Rebecca. The west window of the ante-chapel, from designs by Sir Joshua Reynolds, was completed in sections, about 1784. The centrepiece was put into position in September, 1783, and, unfortunately, the tracery of the window had to be altered to admit it. Contemporary opinion was considerably divided about the window. It was argued that the pictures were not suited for reproduction in glass, and that a window should not be a monochrome. Horace Walpole prophesied failure for it in 1779. But in 1783 he wrote:

'Sir Joshua's Nativity is glorious. The room being darkened, and the sun shining through the transparencies, realizes the illumination that is supposed to be diffused from the glory, and has a magic effect.'

Two years later he had again changed his mind:

'The old and the new are as mismanaged as an orange and a lemon, and destroy each other; nor is there room enough to retire back, and see half of the new; and Sir Joshua's washy virtues make the Nativity a dark spot from

the darkness of the shepherds, which happened, as I knew it would, from most of Jarvis's colours not being transparent.'

The 'washy virtues' (which, by the way, had been placed in the window before Walpole wrote the first criticism we have quoted) are described in a contemporary guide-book as resembling seven chambermaids. Sir Joshua's design for the Nativity was sold to the Duke of Rutland for £1,200 and was burned in the fire at Belvoir Castle in 1816. The 'Seven Graces' did not come into the market till after the death of Sir Joshua's niece, the Marchioness of Thomond, and they were purchased in 1821 by the Earl of Normanton, who paid over £5,000 for them. These were enormous prices for those days, and opinion in general has been on the side of the purchasers rather than on that of Horace Walpole.

Of the brasses which adorned the chapel and cloisters only about half now remain. They are, with a single exception, in the north transept of the ante-chapel, where they were collected and placed when the chapel was repaved in 1636. It is possible that others may be concealed by the stalls which Wyatt placed round the walls. Fortunately, some of the most beautiful specimens have been preserved, *e.g.*, the brasses of William Hautryve (1441), Warden Cranley, afterwards Archbishop of Dublin (1417), and Warden John Rede (1521). The brasses in the cloisters were, Wood tells us, 'sacrilegiously conveyed away, when the King's ammunition was reposed therein in the time of the Civil War, an. 1643 and after.' Only one of them now remains—that to Richard Dyke (1604), in the south

cloister, with its characteristically seventeenth-century riddle:

> 'Exiit e vita cum Februus exiit, annum
> Si cupis, et marbum scire, dabit MeDICVs.'*

The cloisters, with the bell tower, were completed a few years after the entrance of the society into the College, and were consecrated on October 19, 1400, by Nicholas, Bishop of Dunkeld, who, having been appointed by the Roman Pope, could find no home in Scotland, which recognised the Avignon Papacy, but afterwards held the rectory of Belbroughton in Worcestershire. The cloisters were intended for processions and as a place of interment; but they have been employed for various purposes. We are indebted to Antony Wood for an account of the use made of them during the Civil War (of which more hereafter) as a magazine for the royal forces. At the end of the eighteenth century we find them used for more peaceful purposes, for in 1776 the College enacted that 'the fruit trees at present standing against the walls and windows of the cloisters be removed, and that hereafter no other plantation be again made in the same place without orders.' About the same time there was some discussion (though the College records show no trace of it) about the advisability of pulling down one or more of the cloister walls, and erecting iron railings 'to admit light and air.' Burials in the cloisters or chapel are now forbidden without the special license of the Home Secretary.

* For full information about the brasses, see 'A Catalogue of the Brasses in New College, Oxford,' by H. C. P. Dobrée, in the *Journal of the Oxford Brass-rubbing Society*, vol. i., No 2 (June, 1897).

The great tower, standing outside the city walls, served as a receptacle for a clock and bells. Five bells were given by the founder, at a cost of £132 16s. 4d. Three of them were dedicated respectively to the Holy Trinity, the Blessed Virgin, and St. John Baptist and St. Frideswide. The old clock (the date of which is unknown) was replaced in 1885 by the present one, but no alteration was made in the chimes.

The hall has suffered less from the ravages of time than has the chapel. It was completed in 1386, and adorned in the reign of Henry VIII. by the beautiful panelling which an early tradition has asserted to be the gift of Archbishop Warham. Otherwise it does not seem to have been much changed till the year 1722, when the original wooden floor was replaced by the existing marble pavement. At Wyatt's restoration of the College, the roof of the hall was destroyed, and its place taken by a flat plaster ceiling, designed by Wyatt. In 1865 Scott removed Wyatt's ceiling, and erected a wooden roof of elaborate design, built entirely of timber felled on the College estates. Scott restored as far as possible the old pitch of the roof,* which Wyatt had altered, and included in his design a reproduction of the louvre, which had originally served as chimney for the fire in the middle of the floor. At the same time the windows with their armorial bearings were renovated and restored.

The library occupied the rooms in the east end of the quadrangle, which now form the lower library, and

* The present dimensions of the hall are: Length, 79 feet; breadth, 33 feet; height, 50 feet. But Chalmers, in his 'History of Oxford,' writing about twenty years after Wyatt's changes, gives the original height as only 40 feet.

the room which is now the upper senior common-room was assigned as a special library for law books. The room under the Law Library was, then as now, known as the Chequer, and was used for much the same purpose as a modern bursary. It probably extended to the front-quadrangle, and included the present bursary. The kitchen occupied its present site. The staircase tower was built as a series of four muniment-rooms: the ground-floor for 'vessels of brass' and other College utensils; the first-floor for charters and documents; and the two remaining rooms for plate and jewels, the uppermost to contain plate and jewels of special value used in the chapel. These rooms retain their beautiful tiled floors and vaulted roofs. All are now used for the storing of College archives. The Chaplains' rooms were under the hall (the present storeroom), and a choir-school was at an early period built between the east cloister and the west wall of the chapel. There were three gates. The great gate, with a smaller one inserted in it for actual use, just as we have it to-day, was ordered by the statutes to remain closed from sunset to sunrise; and this regulation applied also to the gate at the east end, which was made in the city wall leading into the Slype, or slip of ground outside the city wall. Besides these, there was a gate 'close to the Church of St. Peter in the East,' to be opened only when the Mayor and Bailiffs of Oxford came, once in three years, to inspect the fortifications, or in time of war, or when repairs were being made on the fabric. Fellows and scholars alike were forbidden to make use of it in ordinary circumstances. This *non licet* gate disappeared when

From a photograph by the [*Oxford Camera Club*

DOOR OF THE MUNIMENT-ROOM

the garden quadrangle was built, and its place has been taken by the small gate in the garden wall near St. Peter's Church.

The apportionment of the domestic buildings is known to us. The gateway tower contained the Warden's lodgings, and the remainder of the quadrangle afforded space for some twenty chambers. The statutes provide that three Fellows or scholars should reside in each upper chamber, and four in each lower chamber, except in the room at the south-east corner, which was to accommodate only three. This distribution of space was maintained,* it would appear, till the additions were made to the buildings in the end of the seventeenth century; and in 1663 one of the questions put to the Visitor was whether, in view of the additions to the buildings then proposed, a more liberal allowance of room might be made. The answer was in the affirmative, and the rooms probably ceased to have more than two occupants each. But part of the garden quadrangle was built in accordance with the old arrangement, the plan of which is perhaps best seen in the rooms in the second wing of the quadrangle, looking to the garden. In these the four small windows (three facing the garden and one in the north wall) were apparently intended for four 'studies.'

We have anticipated our account of the additions to the founder's buildings. The first change was the erection of attics in Warden Colepepper's time (1573-1579). These may be seen, in one of Loggan's prints, extending along three sides of the old quadrangle. The attics did not

* It is not unlikely that the big rooms were divided up by some sort of partition, or that, at all events, the 'studies' (as to which see above, p. 57) had grown into larger structures.

face the quadrangle, but the roof was raised to make room for them, and the proportions of the towers were spoiled. The attics on the east side were used for a Manuscript Library, to afford greater space for the increasing number of printed books in the Arts Library below. Probably at the same date chimneys were for the first time inserted in the buildings. About 1674-75 the wall in the interior of the quadrangle was carried up and the attics converted into a third story. The attic windows, looking on to the back of the quadrangle, dated from the time of Charles I., and were plain sash-windows. The windows of the third story, facing the quadrangle, were made in similar fashion; and the College about the same time further disfigured the quadrangle by inserting square windows throughout. The beautiful oriel windows in the Warden's lodgings, between the archway and the chapel entrance, were about the same time destroyed and made uniform with the rest of the quadrangle. Loggan's representation shows them very similar to the oriel window in New College Street, facing the cloister wall, which has been left undisturbed.

When the Manuscript Library was enlarged by the completion of the third story, the law books were removed thither, and the original Law Library was converted into a senior common-room. In the middle of the seventeenth century Merton created a precedent by converting a room into a common chamber, and New College about 1679 or 1680 followed the example thus set. The passage connecting the new common-room with the library was closed up and a new entrance made from the hall. The common-room was panelled,

and the plaster ceiling was inserted, obscuring a roof with wooden beams. The plaster was removed and the ceiling restored in 1873. When the alterations were in progress, the removal of some panels revealed two of the original mullioned windows in the south wall, and two niches with grooves for bookshelves on the east side. The most interesting part of the internal furnishing of the common-room is the 'railroad,' by which the decanters are carried by their own weight from one side of the fireplace to the other. This great invention, of which all others in Oxford common-rooms and elsewhere are imitations, is due to Shuttleworth (afterwards Warden, and then Bishop of Chichester), who had seen the principle employed in the collieries of his native Durham. The Chequer, or the part of it under the common-room, was turned into 'a morning-room for the Fellows' probably about the same time as the conversion of the upper room took place.

There have been some slight changes in the Warden's lodgings. Hearne records that in 1734 'Dr. Coxhead, Warden of New College, made a door out of his lodgings into the street—a thing much taken notice of as against the statutes by persons that are not for innovations.' In 1814, and again in 1822, additional rooms were appropriated to the Warden's use. The statues of St. Mary in the Annunciation of the Archangel Michael, and of the founder himself, which adorn the gateway tower, remain undisturbed. In 1696 a leaden statue of Minerva, the gift of a Warwickshire gentleman, was placed in the centre of the quadrangle. When the existing grass plot was laid out, about 1789, the statue was sold, and the proceeds added to the funds of the library.

There is a tradition that, in reply to a curious American who had handsomely 'tipped' a former porter to reveal the secret of the enviable smoothness of the grass in the quadrangle, that functionary remarked, 'Well, you see, sir, we mows it and we rolls it for 500 years, and there you are!' The reader will have gathered that the effect can be produced by a considerably shorter expenditure of time.

Before turning from the original buildings to describe later additions, we may indicate briefly Wykeham's claim to originality as a College-builder. The quadrangular shape, probably suggested by the gradual growth of the buildings at Merton, and first consciously adopted, perhaps, in the construction of Corpus Christi College at Cambridge, is here developed on a really magnificent scale. 'In New College, for the first time, the chapel, the hall, the library, the treasury, the Warden's lodgings, a sufficient range of chambers, the cloister, and the various domestic offices, are provided for and erected without change of plan.'* Many of these features appear themselves for the first time. No previous College could boast of a tower gateway, a separate residence for the Head, a cloister-cemetery, and a regular library. In numerous respects, the model set by Wykeham has been unquestioningly followed by later founders,† both at Oxford and at Cambridge, and even in Scotland, where, though the founders were imbued with French ideas, the influence of Wykeham may be traced.

* Willis and Clark, 'Architectural History of University of Cambridge,' iii. 258.

† *Cf.* Willis and Clark, vol. iii., *passim*.

No sooner were the additions made to the old buildings than the College undertook the construction of a new quadrangle. It was at first proposed to erect a closed quadrangle, but this suggestion was abandoned in favour of a plan of an open court, made by 'William Bird, mason in Oxford.' Anthony Wood* tells us that on February 13, 1682, 'the first stone was laid by the Warden [Beeston] near the gate of the quadrangle leading to the garden, where now the Common Chamber is on the south side.' Bird's plan provided for the building of a junior common-room parallel with the older Chequer and senior common-room, and of two wings, one on each side of the quadrangle, eastward of the common-rooms and at right angles to them. These ranges were built in 1682-83, and the quadrangle was completed in the beginning of the eighteenth century by the addition of two further wings at right angles to the eastern walls of the last-mentioned buildings, the width of the quadrangle thus increasing by two successive enlargements. The south range dates from 1700, and the north (which was built by private subscription and presented to the College) from 1708.

No further additions were made to the buildings till the latter half of the nineteenth century, when the increase in numbers consequent upon the opening of the College rendered necessary a scheme of building extension. Ground was therefore purchased outside the old city wall, and parallel with the line of the hall and chapel, with a frontage to Holywell Street. On that site was erected in 1873 a block of buildings by Sir Gilbert Scott, which added nothing to the architec-

* 'Life,' p. xciv, ed. Bliss.

tural interest of the College. In 1884 a tutor's house and one new staircase were built, further to the east, on a very different design, by Mr. Basil Champneys. These were continued, to effect a junction with Scott's buildings, in 1897, and at the Encænia in 1898 a new gateway tower, erected to commemorate the great services to the College of the late Bursar, Mr. Alfred Robinson, was inaugurated by the Warden. These later buildings are also from Mr. Champneys' designs, and the renovation of the pinnacles on the hall and chapel, unfortunately necessitated in 1899 by their dangerous condition, has been carried out under his directions. Unfortunately, the new pinnacles are thicker and less graceful than the old, though the old seem to have dated only from Wyatt.*

The garden was originally used for kitchen produce, and the Bursars' Rolls for the first years of the College history contain entries of the planting of vines there. By the beginning of the sixteenth century it had come to be 'used for pleasure and walking.' The artificial mound, which adds greatly to its beauty, was commenced in 1529-30, when many labourers were employed to carry in earth and soil. Similar entries are again found in the Bursars' Rolls in 1584-85, and between 1616 and 1623. The MS. of Warden Woodward tells us that in 1648-49 'the mount was perfected with steps of stone and setts for the hedges† about the

* The change was made on the supposed authority of an old print.

† Poynter (*c.* 1750) thus describes the garden: 'There is a lofty artificial Mount, encompassed with several Hedges of Juniper, adorn'd with Trees cut into several Shapes, with Stone Steps and winding Walks up to the Top, and the Top encompass'd with Rails

walk.' Seventeenth-century prints show to the west of the mound 'the King's and founder's arms, a dial and a knot, all curiously cut in box.' The southern portion of the garden was used for archery, and ended in an Ionic temple, of eighteenth-century date, removed in 1890. By the beginning of the nineteenth century, the access to the mound had been removed, the boxwood designs had disappeared, and the garden had acquired its present appearance. Ayliffe mentions that the screen in front of the garden, 'a curious Piece of Iron-Work, 130 feet in length, was set up in the year 1711, and was made by that ingenious Artist, Mr. Thos. Robinson at Hyde-Park Corner.' Ayliffe was a contemporary, and, as a Fellow of New College, must have known the fact; but it is interesting to note that a tradition arose that the screen had been 'brought from Timon's villa [Canons, belonging to the Duke of Chandos], satirized by Pope in his 'Moral Essays' (*cf.* IV., ver. 99).'* The gardens are fortunate in the unique charm lent them by the old city wall which forms their boundary, and provides so effective a background to the graceful foliage on the mound and the dignified shade of beech and lime. The beauty of the scene is increased by the glimpses of the old Norman west front of St. Peter's-in-the-East on one side, and of the tower of Magdalen on the other.

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and Seats, and a Tree growing in the Middle.' Archery has for some years ceased to be practised in New College, and the only amusement now possible in the garden is the old English game of bowls played in the summer term.

* Chalmers, 'History of Oxford,' vol. i., p. 129. Chalmers mentions this as a fact. But the 'Moral Epistles' did not appear till 1731-34.

CHAPTER V

THE MIDDLE AGES AND THE RENAISSANCE

NEW COLLEGE was founded too late in the Middle Ages to produce famous schoolmen of the medieval type. The scholastic philosophy was in its decadence. Wycliffe was the last of the great schoolmen. The founder was a member of that party in the Church which was bent on stamping out Wycliffism; its efforts were in due time accomplished, but only at the cost of stamping out thought also. Not one even of the orthodox philosophical works of the greatest contemporary schoolman appears among the books which the founder presented to the College, and the Society produced practically nothing of its own in that region. Nor did any of the more famous Lollards come from the College, but in spite of all its founder's care heresy soon crept into his fold. A Fellow named Richard Wyche was burnt at London in 1439.* Wykeham had, of course, no thought of introducing any fundamental change into the traditional education of his time. But it is probable that he was more interested in the study of law on the one hand, and of grammar

* Winchester Register and Foxe

on the other, than in scholastic theology and scholastic philosophy. The most famous New College men of the first generation were not learned schoolmen or divines, but lawyers, diplomatists, ecclesiastical politicians—men of the type to which the founder himself belonged, and which he was most solicitous to rear; for these were precisely the class of men to whom he looked to defend the old régime in Church and State, to keep power in the hands of the Bishops, and to suppress the ominous alliance between heretical theologians and revolutionary laymen which had produced the alarming phenomenon of Lollardy. In the very first page of the Steward of Hall's book, which records the Fellows present each day and each week at the common meals, occur the names of two Archbishops. One was Henry Chicheley, Archbishop of Canterbury, famous as a diplomatist, as the War Minister of Agincourt, as the founder of All Souls', as a strenuous defender of the rights of the English Church against Rome. The other was Thomas de Cranley, second Warden of the College (1382-1385), the Chancellor of the University, afterwards Warden of Winchester, finally Archbishop of Dublin (1398-1417). He was at one time Lord Chancellor and Justiciar of Ireland. He lies buried in the ante-chapel, where a fine brass preserves his features. As an indication of the fact that the founder intended the expression 'poor scholar' to be interpreted with a certain amount of liberality, it is worth noting that Chicheley's father was twice Lord Mayor of London. Archbishop Cranley testified his affection for the College by a gift of books in 1413, and a legacy of books in his will.*

* Bursar's Rolls for 1513 and 1518.

Another Wykehamist of the same stamp was Thomas Bekynton, D.C.L., successively (among other preferments) tutor to King Henry VI., Dean of Arches (in which capacity he is found active in the suppression of Lollardy), Secretary of State, Lord Privy Seal, and Bishop of Bath and Wells (1443-1465). He was consecrated in the still unfinished chapel of Eton, which he afterwards proceeded to 'dedicate,' or, as we should now say, to consecrate. He built the west cloister of Wells, left the money out of which the Rector's lodgings at Lincoln were built (his rebus — a T, a beam and a tun—may still be seen there), and procured for his own College the manor and suppressed alien priory of Newton Longueville (1443) from his pupil Henry VI., together with the manors of Great Horwood, Whaddon, Akeley, West Hanney and Witchingham.* Royal gifts, however, are apt to be expensive; it cost the College £648 14s. 5d. to get into its little property. Before this the College finances had apparently fallen to a very low state.†

These men carried on the legal and statesmanlike traditions of the founder. But Wykeham, whose own education had probably ended with the Grammar School, was also in a modest and medieval way interested in the study of grammar. The one distinctive educational idea which his statutes represent is an increased appreciation of the need of sound grammatical teaching, which Wykeham endeavoured to secure both by insisting on his scholars studying at Winchester till they were sixteen, and by the institution of tutors to super-

* 'Bekynton Correspondence,' vol. i., p. 226.

† *Ibid.*, p. 225

intend their early studies at Oxford. And these measures bore fruit in due time. New College is the earliest home of the Renaissance in Oxford, if the name of Renaissance can be given to those humble efforts after a more thorough teaching of grammar and the writing of decent Latin prose which are traceable from about the middle of the fifteenth century, or soon afterwards, all over Europe. This movement, it is worthy of note, does not appear in the first instance to have been due to any direct contact with the Humanists of Italy, though it may have been stimulated by the vague rumour that in that country scholars, and even Cardinals, were beginning to think Virgil and Cicero worthy of serious study. Of this tendency the first distinct representative in Oxford was Thomas Chandler, who became Warden of Winchester in 1450, and of New College in 1454 (1454-1475)—afterwards Canon of half a dozen churches, Chancellor of Oxford (while still Warden), Master of St. Cross, Dean of the Chapel Royal, Privy Councillor, and finally Dean of Hereford (1481-1490). As Chancellor he presided over the burning of Bishop Pecock's books at Corpus in 1457. In his extant letters to his friend Bishop Bekynton,* he writes perhaps better Latin prose than any that had been known in England since the twelfth century. It was probably during his wardenship that we find the first direct contact with the Italian Renaissance. At all events, it was within the walls of New College that Greek was first taught in Oxford by the Italian scholar Vitelli, who remained here till 1488 or 1489. It was, no doubt, from Vitelli that the more famous William Grocyn,

* Published in the 'Bekynton Correspondence.'

who became full Fellow in 1467, received his first instruction in the Greek tongue. He was the son of a tenant of the College, the farmer of Colerne in Wilts. Upon the foundation of Magdalen, Grocyn was transferred to a Fellowship in that College, where he became the first of its Readers in Divinity in 1481, holding at the same time the New College benefice of Newton Longueville. After travelling in Italy and continuing his studies under Politian and Chalcondyles, he returned to Oxford, and in 1498 began lecturing in Greek at Exeter; but his godson, George Lily, distinctly tells us that he had taught Greek before leaving Oxford—possibly (as Wykehamists will like to think) before leaving New College.* It was not, of course, till after the Italian visit that he numbered More and Erasmus among his hearers. It is significant of the strong conservative bias which his Wykehamist training had imparted that, with all his new and unheard-of classical accomplishments, he had little sympathy with the new religious ideas of his period, still reverently studied the schoolmen against whom Erasmus was stirring up the scorn of cultivated Europe, and preferred Aristotle to Plato: the difference between them, he declared, was the difference between Philosophus and Philomythus. Before his death he became Warden of All Hallows', Maidstone, but he spent the latter part of his days chiefly in London, where he was the centre of the most cultivated circle of his time. Erasmus, who owed to him his introduction to Warham, styles him 'the most upright and best of all Britons.' The College has

* See Professor Montagu Burrows' interesting memoir of William Grocyn in 'Collectanea,' vol. ii., of the Oxford Historical Society.

commemorated its most illustrious scholar by a brass and inscription in the church of Newton Longueville. With the departure of Grocyn, the lead in the humanistic movement passed to Magdalen, which may in a manner, architecturally and otherwise, be regarded as a daughter of New College, though its founder, William of Waynflete, Bishop of Winchester, was not a New College man. He was, however, Headmaster of Winchester (afterwards of Eton), and his own plan testifies to an increased measure of that solicitude for classical study which had begun to show itself in Wykeham's foundations.

Magdalen College produced Colet and gave a temporary home to Erasmus. The Masters of its school in Oxford became the earliest reformers of Grammar School teaching in England. The originator of this movement was Thomas Stanbridge, author of the first Latin Grammar on the new model developed and made famous by Lily of Magdalen at St. Paul's. He was probably the teacher of Wolsey, who succeeded him in the Magdalen headmastership. Stanbridge is said to have been a member of New College, but it is certain that he could not have been a Fellow.

Though, after Grocyn's time, it is Magdalen which is specially identified with the Greek movement in Oxford, Humanism—at least, the Latin Humanism—was not extinct in New College. Its most illustrious representative was William Warham, D.C.L., Archbishop of Canterbury, who began life as a Civil Law Fellow of New College, 1475, was presented to the College living of Horwood in 1488, rose to fame as

an advocate in the Court of Arches, and became Master of the Rolls, Bishop of London, Archbishop of Canterbury, and Lord High Chancellor. His friendship with Colet, and his patronage of Erasmus, gave him a high place in the history of the Oxford Renaissance, so brilliant in its promise, so stunted and imperfect in its later growth. No higher praise can be bestowed upon him than the fact that he died worth not £30. He left us his law books and his collection of Greek MSS., and during his lifetime is said to have been the donor of the scrollwork wainscot which gives our hall its peculiar charm.

For the other medieval Wardens the reader may be referred to the list at the end of this volume. With the exception of the two prelates already mentioned, and Chandler, who became Chancellor of Wells, and afterwards Dean of Hereford, all of them ended their days in the wardenship, though all held other preferments—all of them after Chandler a canonry or cathedral dignity. Of none of them can anything be recorded except their preferments, until we come to John Young (F. 1482), who was elected Warden in 1521, and became Bishop of Callipolis and Archdeacon of London in 1514. He acted as a Suffragan to the Bishop of London, and afterwards became Master of the Rolls and Dean of Winchester. All these preferments he apparently retained with the wardenship.

Among the few events of the medieval period which our records enable us to note are the visits of distinguished people. These, on account of the expenses which they involved, have left traces in the College accounts. In 1418 the 'Ambassadors of our Lord the

Pope' were entertained with 'spiced bread and beer' and with wine. In 1426 the Ambassador of the Duke of Burgundy visited the College; while in May of the following year the Bishop of Lincoln was entertained, and the Earl of Stafford in October. Some years later William Saye, Dean of St. Paul's (Fellow 1428-1442), who presented books to the library and ornaments to the chapel, was received with rejoicings; and in 1442 preparations were made for a reception of King Henry VI. The most complete account of a College banquet occurs in connexion with a two days' visitation by William Wayneflete, Bishop of Winchester, in 1470-71, when sums are recorded as spent 'pro pane, cervisia, carnibus bovinis, farina, sale, cygnis, caponibus, cuniculis, qualys.' Another variation of the general monotony of medieval life in College was supplied by the frequent outbursts of pestilence. In the same year as the great feast for Waynflete, the accounts show that an allowance of commons was made for some members who remained to guard the College, while the rest had withdrawn from Oxford on account of the plague. There is a similar entry under the year 1594. Most of the Colleges had some farm in the neighbourhood of Oxford to which it was wont to retire on such occasions, but tradition does not seem to have preserved the name of the usual New College sanatorium.

In addition to those mentioned in the course of the chapter, the following names of medieval Fellows deserve notice:

John Walter (F. 1386): Mentioned as a famous mathematician by Pitseus (p. 594).

Thomas Cubulwyke (F. 1408): 'Multæ in literis humanioribus lectionis erat, necnon Historicus eruditus, et Evangelii Prædicator haud contemnendus, Literatorum denique Mæcenas paucis secundus.'*

Andrew Huls (F. 1414-20): Archdeacon of Wells and Keeper of the Privy Seal.

Bartholomew Bolnery (F. 1421-22): According to the Winchester Register, Judex Angliæ Primarius (unconfirmed).

William Whyte (F. 1434-42): Burned at Norwich as a Lollard under Henry VI.

William Westbury (F. 1435): As Provost of Eton he saved that College from the rapacity of Edward IV. (*cf.* Creasy's 'Eminent Etonians,' pp. *33*, *34*).

John Russell (F. 1449-62): Bishop of Rochester 1476; Bishop of Lincoln 1480; Keeper of the Great Seal; Chancellor of Oxford 1483; Lord Chancellor of England under Richard III. He was, according to Sir Thomas More, 'a wise and good man of much experience, and one of the best learned men that England had in that time.' He played an important part in the events of the year 1483, and his sermon preached at the opening of Richard's first Parliament has been preserved, and will be found in Nichols' 'Grants of Edward V.,' pp. l-lxiii. For Russell's political career, *cf.* Gairdner's 'Richard III.'

Richard Janne (F. 1456): Bishop of Norwich 1499; a benefactor.

Richard Mayhew, D.D. (F. 1459): First President of Magdalen; Ambassador to Spain to negotiate marriage of Prince Arthur; Chancellor of Oxford 1502; Bishop of Hereford 1504.

Geoffrey Symeon (F. 1468): Rector of Colerne; Dean of Lincoln; a benefactor.

* Wood, 'Hist. and Antiq.,' ii., p. 134.

Robert Sherbourne (F. 1474): Dean of St. Paul's 1499; Bishop of St. David's 1505; Bishop of Chichester 1508, where he founded the four still existing Wykehamical prebends; died 1536.

Thomas Knight (F. 1472): Secretary of State to Edward IV.

William Horman (F. 1477): Headmaster of Winchester, and afterwards of Eton; the author of 'Vulgaria Puerorum' (Lond., 1519-30), which gave rise to Christopher Jonson's epigram:

> 'Egregia Hormanni quis non vulgaria novit?
> Ille hic, Etonæ postmodo, terror erat.'

Hugh Inge, or Ynge (F. 1484): Bishop of Meath 1511; Archbishop of Dublin 1521; Lord Chancellor of Ireland; died 1528.

Thomas Welleys (F. 1484): Rector of Heyford; Chaplain to Archbishop Warham, and, as titular Bishop of Sidon, acted as his Suffragan; elected Warden, but declined.

William Knight, LL.D. (F. 1493): Bishop of Bath and Wells 1541. He left the College £40.

CHAPTER VI

THE REFORMATION STRUGGLES

In the modest Oxford Renaissance we have seen New College taking a prominent part; but the conservatism of the New College Humanists will have prepared us to find that, in the Reformation movement which followed, New College men are for the most part—though there was a zealous minority of Protestants—lukewarm or hostile.

In the earliest phase of the Reformation movement under Henry VIII., it was, indeed, the fate of the College to bear, through its Warden, an unfortunately conspicuous part. However beneficial the suppression of the monasteries may have been, however well confirmed are many of the charges brought against them by the King's Commissioners, the task involved a good deal of dirty work. For such work every qualification was possessed by John London, D.C.L. (F. 1505-18), who, after holding the College living of Adderbury and other preferments, became Warden of New College in 1526. He was already Canon of York and of Lincoln, and afterwards became also Dean of Wallingford (1546) and of Oseney (1542); he also held a stall

at Sarum, and the College rectory of Stanton St. John. When the persecution of Lutherans was in favour, London was foremost in the gruesome task. We find him (as official to the Bishop or Archdeacon) hearing accusations of heresy as early as 1520 in the parsonage of Stanton Harcourt. In 1533 he is engaged with the Commissary or Vice-Chancellor and the Dean of Christ Church in the proceedings against the little Oxford group of Bible-readers. When Master Garret, Curate of Honey Lane in London, was caught in Oxford selling Tyndale's New Testament to scholars, and managed to escape, we hear of the Commissary fetching the Dean of Cardinal College (now Christ Church) out of the choir during vespers and being met in the middle of the church by 'Dr. London, puffing, blustering, and blowing, like a hungry and greedy lion seeking his prey,' and subsequently preaching at the trial of the offenders and threatening them with rack and little-ease. It is curious to note the fact that, when the prisoners escaped, the Vice-Chancellor consulted an astrologer as to the direction they had taken; and London seems quite to have approved of this course.* Antony Delaber describes him as 'the rankest Papistical Pharisee of them all.'† As Warden he had a Lutheran heretic to deal with in his own College, one Peter Quinby, who was

'imprisoned veary strayghtely in the steeple of New Colleadg, and dyed half sterved with colde and lacke of foode. He desyred his fryndes that came to see him that he might receave the Lordes supper in both formes,

* See his letter in Froude, 'History of England,' chap. vi.

† Foxe, 'Acts and Monuments,' v. 424 *et seq.*

but it wold not be graunted. He was axed of his fryndes what he could eate; he sayd his stomache was gonne from all meate, except it were a warden pye. "Ye shall have it," quod they. "I wolde have but two wardens (quod he) baked: I meane to be playne, (said he) our Warden of Oxforde, and our Warden of Wynchester, London and More; for suche a warden pie might do me and Christes churche good; whean other wardens from the tree can doo me no good at all." Thus jestyng at their tyranny, thorow the cheerfulness of a saffe conscience, he turned his face to the wall in the said belfry; and so after his prayers sleapte swheetly in the Lorde.'*

This story comes from the reminiscences of John Louth, B.C.L., a New College contemporary (F. 1540-43), who was converted to Protestantism by reading Frith's 'Disputation of Purgatory' when a boy at Winchester; he eventually became Archdeacon of Nottingham (d. 1540). Another New College friend of his, John Philpott (F. 1534), was Archdeacon of Winchester under Edward VI., and was burnt by Bonner at Smithfield in 1555. When at Winchester, he is said, for a bet of 20d., to have written 200 verses in one night without making more than three mistakes. He wrote 'An Apology for Spitting on an Arian.'†

Other members of this little Protestant circle who recanted and escaped with mere expulsion were John Man (F. 1531), afterwards Archbishop Parker's chaplain, Ambassador to Spain in 1567, then Warden of Merton and Dean of Gloucester; and Robert Talbot (F. 1532-33), author of a 'Commentary on the Itinerary

* Strype's 'Eccles. Memorials,' vol. i., p. 376.

† 'Narratives of the Reformation,' ed. Nichols (Camden Society), pp. 34, 35.

of Antoninus.' But all forms of opinion seem to have been found at New College in those days. In 1534 one Sir Robert Croft, priest, denounces Amerson to the Warden for denying Transubstantiation, whereupon Emerson delates Croft to the Council for denying the King's supremacy.*

Warden London was evidently a man of considerable administrative and legal capacity. He came under the notice of Cromwell in the course of the years 1532 and 1533 through several distinct circumstances. In 1532 he was trying to secure for the College a piece of the Canditch, *i.e.*, the strip of land in Holywell outside the city wall, between it and the present new buildings. The Bishop of Chichester had offered to pay for 'purging' the unsavoury moat if the College should succeed in acquiring it. By the influence of Cromwell he succeeded in forcing the mayor and citizens to yield to his claims—apparently in exchange for some equivalent property elsewhere. In the following year London, who was known as an expert on disputes between Town and Gown, was sent to Cromwell as a representative of the University in one of their incessant quarrels. At the same time the Warden had a little axe of his own to grind. The King's breach with Rome had filled the zealous canonist with alarm lest his favourite occupation of persecuting heretics should be taken away. He had a nephew in the College who was given to the new views. One morning the Warden sent for him, searched his papers, and walked him up and down his garden from 5 a.m. till dinner-time at 10 or 11, lecturing him on the guilt of heresy. In the course of this conversa-

* Calendar of State Papers (ed. Brewer), vii. 300.

tion London indiscreetly let fall the remark that, 'though the King had conceived a little malice against the Bishop of Rome, he would yet wear harness on his back to fight against heretics.'* The remark was reported, apparently by the nephew's contrivance, to the great Thomas Cromwell, the King's Vicar-General, and for years London had to be constantly endeavouring to clear away the suspicion of disaffection to the new régime.

To expedite these various suits London found it necessary,† according to the manner of the time, to send frequent presents to the great man: in 1532, a dish of partridges; in 1533, a 'trotting gelding,' described as 'light and able to carry a man through the world.' Moreover, these were the days when collegiate, like other ecclesiastical property, was beginning to excite the cupidity of greedy courtiers. The informing kinsman had, London alleges, been set on by a courtier who wanted, of course on dishonestly easy terms, a college farm at Hornchurch. And Cromwell himself had demanded a lease of the College estate at Alton Barnes in Wilts. This the Warden had the pluck to refuse, because it was already let, but offered him the lease of Stert instead without a fine. Moreover, a year later it appears that from 1532 the College had actually agreed to assign to the rapacious Vicar-General an annual pension of £4, which the Warden

* The document is placed in the Calendar under 1534, but either this or some similar accusation by a 'kinsman' is mentioned in the preceding year.

† All the following statements about London's relations with Cromwell and other politicians rest on letters which may be found in the State Papers under the years mentioned.

pays in half-yearly instalments, usually with an additional douceur—gloves, or two dozen quails, or even a 'gelding of easy pace.' Another courtier expected the Warden to put his servant into possession not merely of the vacant farm, but of the late tenant's widow. London did his best, but it seems that the widow objected.

In defending himself against the accusation of Popery, London professes immense zeal to serve the King, and appeals to the fact that he had already written in favour of the King's marriage. Eventually these offers of service were accepted, but for the present it was as much as the Warden could do to secure his own position and that of his colleagues. It is fair to add that on another occasion, beside the one mentioned, he refused to sacrifice the interests of the College to the rapacity of courtiers. In 1538 we find him refusing to manumit a 'bondman' or villain at Colerne, and telling Cromwell that the statutes forbade him to alienate the property of the College.

On another occasion London had to appeal to Cromwell through a fellow-Wykehamist, Thomas Bedyll,* to reinforce his authority over the College. Only a few years before his accession, a royal pardon had been obtained for the murder of one Fellow by another. And about the year 1529 the town in its complaints against the University declares that one Filledewe, a Fellow of New College,† at one o'clock in the afternoon came to Carfax with a sword under

* Successively Archdeacon of Cleveland, London, and Cornwall.

† Strictly a scholar, elected in 1554; he seems never to have reached his Fellowship.

his arm, and other company after him, and went thence to the house of Thomas Bradley, and said: 'Thou hast a club of mine; if thou wilt not deliver it, I will fetch it, and make thy face like a club.' It is possible, therefore, that London was not entirely without grounds for his complaint that the Fellows wanted more liberty than was good for them. They had, it would seem, become possessed with a premature craving for non-residence, and would not submit to the ordinances of the Thirteen. London begs Cromwell to restrain these disorders, but as it appears that the Fellows with whom he was especially embroiled were 'Sir Man'* and Hobbes, who on their own account petitioned Cromwell on behalf of the new learning, it would seem that the disorder in question was mainly an outbreak of Humanism, not unconnected with reforming views in religion.

Sir Man and Hobbes appear to have been compelled to make some sort of submission to the Warden; but to support London in his attempts to suppress the new learning was no part of Cromwell's programme. In the following year, 1534, Sir Man and Hobbes must have (to borrow a Winchester notion) been 'junketing over' the Warden. For in 1535 Dr. Layton conducted a visitation of the University on behalf of the King. This is his report to Cromwell on New College:

'In New College we have stablished a lecturer in Greek and another in Latin with an honest salary and stipend. . . . Wee have set Dunce in Bocardo and have utterly banished him Oxford for ever, with all his blynd glosses, and is now made a common servant to every man, fast

* Sir (*Dominus*) was the usual title of a Bachelor. This 'John Man' is not the same as the one mentioned on p. 102.

nayled up upon posts in all common houses of easement, *id quod oculis meis vidi.* And the second time wee came to New College, after wee had declared your injunctions, wee found all the great Quadrant Court full of the leaves of Dunce, the wind blowing them into every quarter; and then wee found one Master Greenefeld, a Gentleman of Buckinghamshire, gathering up part of the said book-leaves (as he said) therewith to make Sewells or Blanshers to keepe the Deere within the wood, and thereby to have the better crye with his hounds.'*

Such was the fate of Duns Scotus at the hands of the men of the new learning, and such was the fate, we may suppose, of the greater part of the founder's library. Sir Man, it may be added, became the new Greek lecturer.

It is probable that these reforms were not really to the Warden's mind; but he had to make the best of them, and in his next complaint to his patron against the Fellows (August, 1537), he affects great zeal for the new learning, and accuses the College of reactionary tendencies. The youth are now, he declares, given to such liberty in study that they would let pass all good order in learning. Because Duns and such 'barbarous dreamers' are set apart, they object to meddle with Archyrople, Faber, and Melancthon's 'Logic,' or with Aristotle in the original Greek. But it is probable that this enthusiasm for the new learning was not uninfluenced by fears lest Cromwell should deprive him of the wardenship. It is impossible to say exactly what were the charges which were being whispered

* 'Three Chapters of Letters relating to the Suppression of the Monasteries,' ed. T. Wright (Camden Society), pp. 70, 71.

into Cromwell's ears against London, but it would seem that, willing as the Warden showed himself to accommodate himself to the theological and political necessities of the time, he was really a little too undisguisedly a champion of the old learning and the old religion, and too vigorous a persecutor of the new, to be altogether acceptable to the reigning powers. However, at last he succeeded in getting the opportunity he desired of proving his loyalty to the new régime in an unmistakable manner. In 1535 he was appointed a Visitor of Monasteries. The task was exactly to his taste, but his work in that capacity does not concern us here. Suffice it to say that his letters or reports are remarkably free from violent accusations against the monks. He surpassed the other Visitors in zeal for the King's pecuniary interests; but there are many indications of good sense and humanity to individuals.

Enterprising historians would find John London quite as well worth whitewashing as many a medieval Pope or Renaissance Cardinal. His private character would probably be found less easy to vindicate than his public action. It is hinted by Puritans that he abused his opportunities as Visitor of Nunneries; and there is an explicit accusation that at some time or other in his career he did 'open penance with two smockes on his shoulders, for Mrs. Thykked and Mrs. Jennynges, the mother and the daughter . . . as it was then known to a number in Oxford and elsewhere.'* But such an incident can hardly belong to the period at which he was armed with all the authority of the Crown as a Visitor of Monasteries. If true at all, it

* 'Narratives,' p. 35.

must belong to his earlier life, or (just possibly) to the period after his fall. But it is more probable that London deserved, than that he actually received, any such punishment.

London was always happier in persecuting real Protestants than in suppressing monasteries, and this occupation he resumed after the death of Cromwell in 1540. He became a Prebendary at Windsor, and this made him the leading instrument of Gardiner's proceedings under the Six Articles. He succeeded in getting three townsmen of Windsor hanged; but his zeal overshot the mark. When his wider plot against Cranmer and the Protestant courtiers was discovered, his faction lost the King's favour. London was summoned before the Council, examined on oath, and, upon denying the matter alleged against him, he and two of his fellow-conspirators were sentenced, as perjurers, to 'ride about Windsor, Reading, and Newbury with papers on their heads and their faces turned to the horse-tails, and so to stand upon the pillory in every one of these towns, for false accusations of the afore-named martyrs and for perjury.'*

This 'stout and filthy Prebendary,' as Parker calls him, resigned the wardenship in 1542, and died in the Fleet prison a year later.

The next Warden was Henry Cole, D.C.L. (1542-1551). His career may be briefly traced, as it is a kind of compendium of the history of the University in his time. He had travelled in Italy, and studied at Padua. He returned to London in 1540, and practised in the Court of Arches. To the Wardenship he gradually

* The main authorities for this affair are Foxe and Strype.

added the archdeaconry of Ely, and the rectory of Newton Longueville, and after resigning the wardenship became Dean of St. Paul's, Dean of the Arches, Vicar-General of Canterbury, and Provost of Eton. He started with being of the King's religion under Henry VIII.; under Edward VI. he preached Protestantism at Carfax. Under Mary he was entrusted with Cranmer's execution sermon, was Pole's Vicar-General, and one of his Commissioners for the visitation of the University. Doubtless he would willingly enough have conformed under Elizabeth, but he was not given the opportunity, was deprived, fined, and sent to prison. According to some, he died in the Fleet prison. The friend of Leland and Ascham, he must have belonged decidedly to the party of the new learning, though not (in heart) to the new religion.

The majority of the College, no doubt, trod in the footsteps of its Warden. Though New College, as we have seen, was not without its small contingent of earnest Protestants, the real tendency of the majority was conservative. How strong was the conservative feeling of the College may be inferred from the theological temper of its nursery at Winchester. William Forde (F. 1519), the Second Master, was a Puritan whose soul was vexed by the 'golden images' of the College Chapel. One night 'Mr. Forde tyed a longe coorde to the images, lynkinge them all in one coorde, and being in his chamber after midnight, he plucked the coorde, and at one pull all the golden gods came downe with heyho Romhelo. It wakened all men with the rushe.' In consequence of this episode, the Second Master 'hadd a dogge lyff among them, Mr. Wright

the schoolmaster, the Fellows of the house, and the scholars, crying out and rayling for Mr. Forde many tymes.'*

In the majority of the Fellows no doubt conservatism was tempered by considerable adaptability; but not so with the best of them. The most typical representatives of the College at this time were the ablest and best among the reactionaries—men who combined the new learning with the old, well-read and scholarly in a Jesuit-like fashion; men who fled to the Continent under Edward VI., returned, rose to high preferment under Mary, and became exiles again, or suffered at home, under Elizabeth. Men of this stamp were John Harpesfield, D.D. (F. 1534), who left the College in 1551 to be Bonner's chaplain, and afterwards Archdeacon of London, where he rivalled his diocesan in the vigour of his persecution for heresy: he was afterwards Dean of Norwich, was deprived under Elizabeth, imprisoned in the Fleet, and afterwards lived in retirement. His brother, the better-known Nicholas Harpesfield, D.C.L. (F. 1536), is said to have been for a short time Regius Professor of Greek. In 1556 he fled to Louvain; under Mary became Archdeacon of Canterbury and Dean of Arches; was committed to the Tower in 1559, where he died in 1575. He is the author of the very respectable 'Historia Anglica Ecclesiastica.' A zealot of less uncompromising sincerity, though of greater violence, was Thomas Harding (F. 1536), who became Regius Professor of Hebrew under Henry VIII., and affected strong Protestantism under Edward VI.—so much so that (according to Strype) he was given

* 'Narratives,' pp. 29, 30.

letters patent to recommend him to the wardenship of New College—letters which, we have seen, the College resisted. Under Mary he became Gardiner's chaplain and Treasurer of Sarum, but on Elizabeth's accession he fled to Louvain. A rather younger member of the group was Nicholas Sanders, B.C.L. (F. 1548), who had lectured on Canon Law under Mary, but on the accession of Elizabeth fled to the Continent, and became Professor of Theology at Louvain. Harding and Sanders became the centres of quite a little nest of Popish Wykehamists: Dr. Dorman (scholar 1549, afterwards Fellow of All Souls); Robert Poyntz (F. 1554); Thomas Hide (F. 1543), ex-Headmaster of Winchester; John Marshall, ex-Second Master (F. 1551, afterwards Canon of Lille); the Jesuit Thomas Stapleton (F. 1554, D.D., afterwards Dean of Hillverbeck, in Brabant), described by Wood as 'the most learned Catholic of his time'; John Rastall (F. 1549), also a Jesuit, pronounced by Wood a good grammarian; and Richard Whyte (F. 1557), deprived for absence in 1564, afterwards Professor of Law at Douai. All these men spent their lives in writing replies to Bishop Jewell's defence of the English Church, and the like, and died in foreign preferments. Sanders, as Papal delegate, was the inspiring spirit of the rising under Desmond in Ireland, where he died 'of want and cold' in 1581. John Mundyn (F. 1562), expelled at the visitation of 1566, became a Jesuit, and was hanged at Tyburn in 1582. To the same type, but to a later generation, belongs John Pits, still well known as a bibliographer (his book is styled 'Relationum Historicarum de rebus Anglicis,' tom. i.); became a probationer

in 1578, but in 1580, before becoming a full Fellow, fled for conscience' sake to the Continent; was ordained at Rome, professed Greek at Douai, led a wandering life in Continental schools and Courts, and died Dean of Liverdun in 1616.

At the visitation of the University under Edward VI. in 1549, an injunction was issued abolishing the study of the Civil Law in the College; but the order*—so far as the nominal taking of degrees in that faculty is concerned—never took effect or ceased to be observed on the accession of Mary. The Edwardian Visitors also required the destruction of the painted windows in the chapel; but the College appears to have saved them for the present, or some of them, by pleading that it was too poor to defray the expense of such an act of vandalism.† The destruction of the library, begun by the zeal of Henry's Visitors against the old learning, was now continued under the pretext of zeal against the old religion. As an exceptional number of New College men fled before the approach of the Edwardian Visitors in 1549, and had their places filled by good Protestants, so there was naturally a rather exceptional exodus of Protestants on the accession of Queen Mary, when the College was visited by the Commissioners of Bishop Gardiner. At this time (1554), it may be observed, we find the College buying £500 worth of vestments, altar-cloths, and hangings from a Prebendary of Christ Church, who had, no doubt, been a collector in the time of Edward VI., when such things were a drug in the market. The influx of Papists under Mary

* Wood, ii., p. 98. † *Ibid.*, i., p. 107.

naturally prepared the way again for an exceptional number of expulsions under Elizabeth.

Cole's successor was Ralph Skinner, who after two years of office (1551-1553) resigned the wardenship to sit in the House of Commons under Mary, and became Dean of Durham under Elizabeth. His successor was Thomas White, D.C.L., who conformed upon the accession of Elizabeth, and, in spite of some suspicions, retained his place till 1573.

The accession of Elizabeth saw the flight or expulsion of the following Fellows: William Knott, M.A.; Dr. John Catagre, LL.B.; Thomas Butler, LL.D.; Robert Poyntz, M.A. (already mentioned); Robert Fenne, LL.B.; his brother John Fenne (who became a schoolmaster at Bury St. Edmunds, and afterwards joined the Louvain colony); John Fowler, B.A.; John Hardy; John Noble, B.A.; Thomas Daryll; Richard White, B.A.; Edward Astlow, M.D. Owen Lewes, or Lewes Owen (Welshmen at this time were vague in the use of surnames), B.C.L., was one of those who left College of his own accord, and became successively a Professor at Douai, Vicar-General of St. Charles Borromeo at Milan, and Bishop of Cassano in Naples; as also John Hunyngton, who fled to Italy, and a chaplain named Pomerell, who fled to Ireland.

But it is perfectly clear that the purge thus effected was very inadequate. It was only the most conscientious men who disappeared; the majority of those who remained were very reluctant conformists. That such a nest of crypto-Papists should have been allowed to remain undisturbed for so many years is a curious instance of the precarious and transitional position of

Church affairs in these years. At last, however, the soul of the sturdily Protestant Bishop Horne was moved by the tidings which reached him from Oxford, and he determined to hold a systematic visitation of New College and some other colleges of which he was Visitor. As this visitation is one of the most minutely recorded events in the history of the College, and as it has never been properly dealt with by the historians of the College, we propose to give the reader a fairly full account of it. An absolutely exhaustive account our space will not permit. The official record transcribed from the Bishop's register occupies upwards of a hundred folio pages.*

On September 20, 1566, the Bishop's Commissary, George Acworth, Doctor of Laws, took his seat in the chapel, and commenced a formal visitation of the College. The commission having been read by the Bishop's Registrar and Notary Public, together with the statutes of the College defining the Visitor's jurisdiction, the Warden, Dr. White, handed in a list of the Fellows and other members of the College. The names were called over, and those who appeared took the oath of canonical obedience to the Bishop ('salva fide sua statutis dicti Collegii debita et non aliter') and the oath to answer truly all articles and interrogatories which should be administered to them. The Commissary then proceeded to set forth the causes of the visitation and to hand the Warden and Fellows a schedule of 'Articles or Interrogatories' to be answered

* We hope shortly to print the proceedings *in extenso* in the fourth volume of 'Collectanea,' to be published by the Oxford Historical Society.

in writing. The day fixed for the formal return of the replies to the Puritan Bishop's inquiries was, it is curious to note, the following Sunday. The full-blown Sabbatarianism which we are accustomed to associate with Puritanism dates only from the closing years of the century. On Sunday morning the answers were handed in, and a fresh batch of articles 'concerning the Catholic Faith and Religion' (*i.e.*, the newly-published Thirty-nine Articles of Religion) were placed in the hands of the College to be signed by every member of the same. The College asking time for deliberation, they were given till the following Tuesday. On Monday, at seven o'clock in the morning, the visitation began in earnest. All members of the College, except the chaplains and choristers, were directed to withdraw to the antechapel. The choristers were then examined as to their 'hability' to sing, and it was speedily ascertained that, with the exception of three, they 'could not, and had never been instructed to sing.' Their 'instructor and schoolmaster' was thereupon cited to appear. Conscious of guilt, we may presume, that official had sought safety in flight. He was pronounced contumacious, and suspended from the enjoyment of all 'emolument, advantage, and profit in the said College.' The chaplains were then admonished concerning the defects which had been already 'detected'—presumably in the written replies to the visitation articles. They were, it appears, 'too remiss in their ministrations in the said chapel,' and refused to sing the Psalms in English metre. They admitted their fault, and were admonished to be more diligent, and to sing the metrical Psalms before and after service under pain of eviction. They were also

required to exhibit their letters of Orders, and three chaplains who had them not were ordered to exhibit them to the Warden and Fellows before Christmas—*i.e.*, to get themselves ordained. Then the individual chaplains were questioned as to the various irregularities alleged against them or against others in the answers of the Fellows or others to the articles. Bolney denied having spoken disrespectfully of subscription—*i.e.*, of course, subscription to the recently-promulgated Articles of Religion: 'scribinge and scribelinge all iis one to me' were the words attributed to him. Morton and others declared that Amerson 'hath of Payne's books about a dozen,' and other seditious or Popish literature, which he lent or sold to his friends—for instance, Harding's 'Apology of the Private Mass.' And so the visitation went on from day to day. Other Fellows were accused of reading or circulating Popish books, such as Sanders on the Sacrament and Harding's 'Apology of the Private Mass of the Cross.' A large number of the works mentioned were by ex-Fellows of New College—now in exile at Louvain or elsewhere—a circumstance which fully explains the real cause and meaning of this exceptionally strenuous visitation. John Munden refused the oath, and was suspended. No less than twenty-three members of the College refused to subscribe the Articles of Religion, alleging that they were not required to do so by the statutes of the College. They were given further time to reconsider this matter, and the visitation proceeded. Five of them were at the next sitting suspended for refusal, power being given the Warden and certain Fellows to relax the sentence in the event of their

subscription. Then various disciplinary or moral offences were dealt with. Lewkener was accused of absence without the Warden's leave: he replied that he had obtained leave from the thirteen seniors. Blandy (who, it is suggested, had been admitted a Fellow through a bribe to the Warden, in spite of grave charges of immorality in Tingewicke Church preferred against him by the Protestant Rector of Hardwicke) was accused of having 'atrociously struck one Pearse with a great stick so as to fell him to the ground.' He pleaded that the assault was less than atrocious, and that he had been properly punished at the time. At another time he had broken the head of the said Pearse with a club. This he denied, as also a charge of throwing the said Pearse on to the fire, saying 'that he hoped to see all such heritiques burned with hoter fier then that is,' and of expressing the opinion 'that all Protestants were knaves, schismatikes, and bruter than brute beastes.' Another Fellow deposed that Blandy had argued thus, 'He ys a minister, ergo he ys a knave,' but alleged that he 'did not smite Pearse so grievessly that he feld him by reason that a dore somewhat defended the blow.' Yet another witness confirmed the habit of 'railing upon ministers,' and added another assault on Pearse 'with a pot,' upon which occasion 'he sawe the blood runne doun about his eares.' Master Henslow was accused of not having communicated for seven years past. He vaguely denied the allegation, but declined an invitation to purge himself on oath. The charge was pronounced proved. A further charge of 'papistical heresy,' or of being 'vehemently suspected of the same,' was also denied, and purgation, *i.e.*, the procuring of

witnesses to swear his innocence, enjoined. Failing to procure them, he was deprived. Nothing is said of a charge of adultery at which the Warden is elsewhere charged of having connived. Bolney, likewise accused of Papistry, was required to clear himself by six Protestant compurgators. Harries was peremptorily pronounced 'non socius' for not having complied with the statute about taking Orders, though the College had granted him leave to postpone that step. Harries declared that he appealed to the Queen, but the bursars were enjoined not to allow him to receive any emolument. Munden was also deprived for not having communicated since the accession of Elizabeth. Blandy also failed to purge himself of Papistry, and for that offence was deprived. Nothing further was said about the trifling question of assaults. Fisher had, indeed, communicated, but was accused of having laughed and sworn while doing so, and of having drunk the whole of the wine 'in mockery of the Holy Supper.' Such was the testimony of Bilson (afterwards Bishop of Winchester) and others. On the other hand, seven Fellows offered themselves as compurgators for Fisher. The Commissary, however, 'to avoid perjury,' declined to swear them, and on September 27 adjourned the further proceedings till the Tuesday after Passion Sunday, when the court was to meet in the lodgings of the President of Magdalen.

There had been some allusions to charges against the Warden, but on his alleging that some of the witnesses against him were his enemies, and engaged in a conspiracy against him, the matter was adjourned. The charges against him amounted to a general accusation

of laxity, neglect, and even malversation in administering the College property. He had negligently allowed Christ Church to present to the College living of Milton; had kept ten horses at the College expense instead of the statutable six; had 'burdened the College with the payment of condiments' for his family; had allowed his friends to buy College copyholds for nothing, and had even alienated bits of College property. His 'family' (*i.e.*, servants) were ill-behaved, shouted about the College so as to make both study and sleep impossible; kept dogs; 'visited the bursars' table at supper and dinner, to the great expense of the College'; and generally annoyed the Fellows. One witness describes them as 'Rybaldes and Roysters who keapeth hounds within the Colledge whoping and hallowing and blowing their hornes within the precincte of the Colledge.' Another witness adds that they rode about the court. The Warden had, it is further alleged, permitted the farmer of Alton Barnes to dilapidate the buildings; had by his negligence in a lawsuit lost to the College a pasture of 500 acres (called the 'meanemershe') at Stanton St. John; and had 'jactitated' against senior Fellows of the College. Some of his choice expressions are recorded: 'I canne make thee a beggar'; 'Yf I had such a conscience, I wold hang yt on the hedge untill the winde blew throughe yt'; 'I will make the a querister rather than a senior.' He had called others fools, packmakers, or cockscombs. In spite of the statutable prohibition of female servants, a woman 'of suspected life and honesty' frequented his house early and late. He had appropriated presents sent by farmers to the College, and fines or bribes for the renewal of

leases. He had refused to take the Fellow appointed by the College (who was, by the way, his chief accuser) with him on progress as 'rider,' or, as it is now called, 'outrider,' and generally had refused to allow the Fellows their proper share in the conduct of College business. There is also a suggestion of connivance at something like corrupt resignations, a practice as to which we shall have to say more hereafter. Other irregularities, great and small, bring the articles of charge up to seventy-three, with a supplementary schedule of five more. Fifty-sixth among these articles, as though among the minor charges, appears the accusation of having seduced a maid-servant in his rectory at Stanton St. John, and killed her by an attempt to procure abortion. He is also accused of keeping a mistress at his other rectory of Longworth. To the moral enormities are appended some theological charges. In the original articles Warden White is not accused of actual Papistry himself, but he is charged with expressing sympathy with the Duke of Guise, with speaking against 'professors of the Gospel,' and with connivance at the Papistry of the Fellows. He had allowed them, for instance, leave of absence at Christmas, Easter, and Pentecost, and had not demanded certificates of Communion on their return. He had applied to the metrical Psalms the opprobrious name of 'rimes,' and called a Fellow who wanted to have them sung in chapel a 'busyhed.' The supplementary articles go further, and allege that from Easter of 1562 to Easter of the present year he had not received Holy Communion, and had not administered it more than three times during the whole reign, though under Mary he had always celebrated

Mass on the principal festivals. They also add that he had allowed absence from chapel to go unpunished for the last eight years, on the pretext that the number of such offenders was too great for him to deal with them. There are other charges of connivance or neglect to punish the offences of Fellows or chaplains. Among others, he had failed to inquire into the authorship of a ballad against the Bishops entitled 'A Knacke to know a Knave,' written and circulated in the College.

Of White's answers, it will be enough to say generally that the minor irregularities and breaches of the statutes are admitted, but the moral charges and peculations are denied. He pleads guilty, for instance, to eight or seven horses, to allowing his servants to keep two dogs, to calling a Fellow a 'packmaker' by way of correction (as to the other opprobrious words, he forgets whether he used them or not), to such presents as a capon or a couple of rabbits from the farmers.* His reply to the charge about the fines for renewing leases suggests that the motive of the accusation was that the Fellows wanted to appropriate fines on renewal to their own private advantage, which was already the case in some colleges and was soon to be the universal practice. The maid at Stanton St. John had been seduced by his cook. When he discovered her condition, he turned her out of doors (with gross inhumanity, it would appear to us) in the middle of the night (*intempesta nocte*). She was found in the fields by shepherds, who brought her back

* As a contribution to the history of prices, it may be mentioned that, for cleaning his hall and the passages leading to it every day or every other day, Warden White gave his charwoman a penny per week.

to his house, where she died, apparently from want and exposure. Then follows an array of exceptions taken by the Warden to the character of witnesses against him. He pleaded that the witnesses should not be admitted at all, on the ground of their hostility to him, or that, if examined, they should be asked a list of questions which he submits, a somewhat clumsy and elaborate method of cross-examination necessitated by the penchant of the ecclesiastical courts for written evidence. In these questions he brings all sorts of accusations against his two principal accusers, Barkly and Merrick—adultery and other immoralities, Popery, conspiracy, and threats against the Warden, attempts to procure the wardenship, corrupt dealings with farmers, spending more on their clothes than they could honestly have come by (Barkly is accused of having spent 100 marks in a year), and the like. The evidence of the witnesses was received, and they, of course, deny the accusation contained in the Warden's interrogatories.*

It is probable that the learned Commissary was as much puzzled as the modern reader to see his way through this mass of crimination and recrimination. Two things only were clear: that the College contained many crypto-Papists, the most obstinate of whom were,

* Incidentally it appears that Adderbury (including the 'parsonadge') had been let by the College to the Earl of Leicester—another of the attempts on the part of courtiers to live upon the property of corporations, of which we have already had instances.

It is also alleged by witnesses that 'Cardenall Poole had the Colledge bounde he knew not in what conditions and summes of money for two greate chestes of bookes which the Colledge receaved from the said Cardinall's executors.'

as has been explained, removed; and this was, no doubt, the main purpose of the visitation. The other, that there had been much irregularity both in the religious and the financial administration of the College. To remedy this, a number of rather mild injunctions were left behind by the Visitor's representative. As to the Warden, he is neither (so far as appears) definitely acquitted nor condemned. He was probably a time-server, perhaps somewhat inclined to the old régime, not at all anxious to commit himself too deeply to the new before its stability was quite established. At all events, it is certain that Warden White remained Warden till 1573, and then passed on to the archdeaconry of Berks and the chancellorship of Sarum.

The injunctions left behind in the name of the Visitor may be briefly summarized:

1. Fellows and scholars to attend matins daily.

2. The steward of the hall and the manciples (*obsonatores*) to buy good and wholesome victuals.

3. No chaplains to be admitted without letters of orders and letters commendatory.

4. Due reverence to be paid to seniors and officers.

5. No Fellow to introduce or keep the works of Harding, Saunder, Marshall, Hesken, Dormer, or any other schismatics.

6. Masters of Arts and Bachelors of Law to sit in Hall at the table next to the high table.

7. The Warden to see that the expelled Fellows retire at once with all their effects ('cum utensilibus suis omnibus et singulis').

8. Warden and Fellows not to attempt anything to the prejudice of the visitation, which was only adjourned.

9. No benefices, farms, or lands to be given, leased, or alienated during the continuance of the visitation without the consent of the Bishop.

10. Latin to be spoken in College.

11. No proceedings to be taken against those who have subscribed the Articles of Religion without consent of the Bishop. (This probably means that bygones were to be bygones.)

But this was only the first act in the tragi-comedy. On the 18th of the following March (1566-67) the visitation was resumed. An exact account of the successive adjournments and formalities would be tedious. We must be content with a brief account of the Commissary's dealings with the more interesting offenders. The answers to the interrogatories having supplied the basis for his further proceedings, the Commissary went on to charge the individual Fellows with the enormities thus revealed.

Henry Barckly, sub-warden, LL.B., was accused (1) of having misappropriated £11 15s., moneys of the College entrusted to him, for the purchase of fish (no doubt dried fish) at Stourbridge Fair; (2) of having adopted lay attire on the last visit of Queen Elizabeth; (3) of having pernoctated out of College during the last week of the visitation. This he admitted, but pleaded that he was engaged on business of the College. The charge of misappropriation rested upon the evidence of John Dodwell, *obsonator*, or manciple, of the College. He pleaded that Dodwell was a man of 'impecunious condition, bad repute, and unhonest conversation,' and was ordered to purge himself by the evidence of five honest and indifferent Fellows. This was done, the

compurgation admitted, and the charge dismissed. For his non-subscription he was pronounced contumacious, but ultimately submitted, and was restored.

William Smith, M.A., was accused of being an 'impediment to the true and Christian religion now received in England,' of having derided the metrical Psalms by calling them 'rimes,' of having 'contumeliously sworn against the preachers of these times, namely, Master Lever and others.' All the charges were at first denied, but he subsequently admitted 'that he did mislike his (Lever's) pronunciacion, for he sounded "witch" for "which."' He was further accused of the dissemination of contentions and discords 'here and in other churches.' The charges ended in an admonition.

Martin Colepepper, M.A. (a future Warden), was accused of adultery, and of having called the metrical Psalms 'Robin Whode's Ballads.' He denied the jurisdiction (as some others had done without mentioning reasons) on the explicit ground that the Bishop could not visit twice in two years, but pleaded not guilty.

Richard Sotwell, LL.B., was accused of being a 'common defender of Papists,' of purchasing seditious books of the fugitives of Louvain (*fugitivorum Lavanistarum*), and of having graduated without proper leave. He denied the charges, and was eventually given permission to go abroad, partly for the good of his health and partly for the sake of study.

John Dodwell, B.A., was 'preconised and is a walker (*obambulator*) about the town of Oxford' after the hour of gate-shutting, of having got into College after the gates were shut, by the door of the hall near the kitchen, which he opened with a knife, and of having

frequently appropriated to his private use coals and wood belonging to the College—the first trace, by the way, of private fireplaces. He admitted only the illicit entry into College, and pleaded that for this he had been punished by the Warden; but this the Warden denied, alleging that Dodwell had only been punished for coming in late. He was suspended from his readership, but restored. A number of other Fellows were accused of taking part in this escapade.

John Jenour denied having maintained that 'a Person of the Holy Trinity consisted of the same bodily lineaments as men.' Quarles and Singleton deposed to having heard him maintain the position. He was required publicly to declaim against this heresy in the chapel the following Monday.

Thomas Hopkins refused subscription, and was pronounced contumacious. He was also accused of keeping birds contrary to the statutes, but pleaded that he had already been punished. He ultimately subscribed, and was restored. He subsequently admitted the possession of a 'book of conjurations,' which he had received from Fisher, and was admonished not to use the art of magic.

John Fisher admitted breaking into College at night by the hall door. He also pleaded guilty to giving Hopkins a 'book of conjurations,' which he had received from a Christchurch M.A.

John Underhill (a future Bishop) admitted breaking into College at night by the hall door, Edward White holding the lantern.

Luke Astlowe, M.A., denied the Commissary's jurisdiction, refused to answer, and was pronounced contumacious. He subsequently consented to be examined,

and was accused of adultery, but admitted only a kiss. He was also accused of wearing in London and elsewhere 'a dress and boots incongruous with the scholastic habit,' and of minor breaches of discipline. He was allowed to clear himself by compurgators.

Richard Deale, civilian, accused of wearing a yellow doublet, pleaded that it was *subrusi coloris*, also of frequent absence from morning chapel, which he denied.

Benedict Quarles, accused of keeping birds, pleaded that he had already been punished; also of pawning his gown, books, and other goods *potandi et luxuriandi causa*.

Christopher Diggles was accused of frequenting suspected places for the purpose of dancing.

John Ingram admitted publicly defending Transubstantiation. He was pronounced *non socius*, but upon submission restored.

Edward White was accused of reading profane books in chapel, and at other times the hours of the Virgin; also of having abused the Visitor as an oppressor of his tenants, and of having said that there were many lies in the Bishop of Salisbury's book (Jewell's 'Apology'). He denied all the charges.

Bartholomew Bolney refused subscription and was pronounced contumacious. He afterwards appeared, and was accused of using a dagger (*pugio*), of dancing in the town, and frequenting suspected places. He denied the charges; eventually subscribed and was restored.

William Norwood, civilian, was pronounced contumacious for non-appearance and refusing to subscribe the articles. He afterwards appeared, and was accused of

keeping one bird, for which he pleaded that the Warden had punished him by subtraction of commons. He was restored upon subscription.

Thomas Reading, M.A., Reader of Greek in the College, was accused of 'negligently reading' that tongue, and contumaciously absenting himself when Bursar from the admission of a scholar. To this last he pleaded absence on College business. Also of refusing, as Dean of Arts, to consent to his own transference to the ranks of the theologians. This was admitted, but he pleaded that he was hindered by 'divers businesses.' Later he was charged with 'supineness in the office of Dean,' but does not appear to have been further dealt with.

It is difficult to sum up the net result of all this investigation and formality. Ultimately John Munden and William Blandy seem to have been the only Fellows who actually disappeared directly in consequence of the visitation of 1566-67. Munden became a Jesuit, and was hanged at Tyburn in 1582. Blandy abandoned the dangerous pursuit of theology, and was called to the Bar. Besides these, there were of course the absentees, who were deprived for non-appearance. During the following years a considerable sprinkling of Fellows are removed for non-residence, most of whom were probably men who could no longer reconcile themselves to an enforced conformity.

At the end of the visitation the Bishop issued another batch of injunctions—sixty-two in number.* These relate chiefly to such unquestionable violations of the statutes as the visitation had shown to be most

* A copy is preserved at the end of the MS. Statute-book in the custody of the Warden.

common—speaking English; neglect of academical dress; the wearing of garments of unscholastic colour or cut; not taking orders at the statutable times; the employment of female servants; playing at hazard or cards; keeping dogs or hawks; walking about without a companion; entertaining strangers at the expense of the College; keeping 'poor scholars' who were not *bonâ fide* students, but a cheap sort of personal servants. Sometimes the Bishop claimed to apply the general precepts of the statutes to the needs of the time. The seniors are not to sit after meals in the College gate, or to waste time 'in otiose fabulations' to the bad example of the juniors. Members of the College are to treat each other politely (*tractent mansuetis sermonibus*), and to abstain from 'cursings and contentious disputations,' or from calling in question the articles of religion. There are a whole series of new enactments intended to complete the suppression of Popery in the College. The most important of these decrees the total destruction of all images in the chapel, and of all pictures 'up to the height of the stalls.' The tapestries or hangings are also to be removed from the east end of the chapel, and the walls whitewashed and painted with texts of Scripture. The metrical psalms are to be sung before and after sermons, and every member of the College is to bring a psalm-book. The Homilies are to be read in chapel on Sundays and Saints' Days when there is no University sermon. When there is a sermon the Warden is to conduct some of the Fellows and scholars thereto. The Litany is to be said every day at the time prescribed in the statutes for Mass. Festival days are to be spent in the reading of Holy

From a photograph by the] [*Oxford Camera Club*

THE CHAPEL: EAST END

Scripture. No one is to read or possess the writings of the 'Anglico-Lovanienses'—*i.e.*, the English colony of Louvain, or other seditious writers, especially Harding, Sanders, Heskens, Dormer, Marshall* and other schismatics or papists, while an antidote is to be provided in the works of Marlorat, the Magdeburg 'Centuries of Ecclesiastical History,' the work called the 'Key of Scripture,' and other theological works which are to be bought for the library. All are to communicate three times yearly, and a certificate of their having done so is to be transmitted to the Bishop of Winchester. 'The Fellows, scholars, or ministers of the choir are not to turn to the east in papistical fashion when *Gloria patri* is sung.' At elections to Winchester no boy is to be chosen unless his parents or relations promise on his behalf that he will defend the royal authority in spirituals or temporals, and sincerely profess the Christian religion as approved and established by Act of Parliament in the time of Queen Elizabeth.† No one is to be admitted to the College without taking the oath prescribed in the Act of Uniformity and subscribing the Articles of Religion.

If the Bishop exhibited the usual puritanical objection to plastic or pictorial art, he had no objection to music, and advised that the choristers should spend most of the day in learning to sing 'as well plane song as composite.'‡ He also seems to have had an inkling

* All New College men.

† 'Fidemque et religionem Christianam per statuta tempore Elizabethæ Angliæ Reginæ in ea parte edit. et approbat. et stabilita sincere profitiatur.' We should probably read 'edita approbatam et stabilitam.'

‡ *I.e.*, presumably Anglican chants and anthems.

of the modern view as to the relations between cleanliness and godliness, and left orders for the cleaning out of the 'cloaca dicta Longhouse,' and insisted on some other obvious requirements of decency and sanitation the necessity for which throws a lurid light upon the habits of our predecessors. Other injunctions are directed against the usual College abuses. The poor are to be preferred to the rich in the elections to Winchester; the Warden and Opposers are not to take bribes. Money given for the common seal (*i.e.*, probably for copyholds or other privileges) is to be divided equally among all the Fellows. Fines for the renewal of leases are to go to the general funds of the College, and not to individuals. The Steward of the Hall for the week is personally to go to market with the Manciple for the purchase of victuals. Owing, perhaps, to the peculiar constitution of the College, there was, he thought, too much intimacy between seniors and juniors. The scholars are not 'too familiarly to frequent the chambers of Fellows, and the Fellows are not to admit scholars to their familiarity.' Another violation of College discipline which the Bishop condemned was the preference shown to juniors over seniors in the assignment of rooms. Moreover (a rather mysterious provision) the lower garden (commonly called the Master's garden) is to be assigned to the two senior Masters of Arts 'unless grave cause of indignity in any Fellow or the remarkable excellence of any of the juniors shall persuade the contrary.' There is also, by the way, an injunction to the gardener to be more diligent in the discharge of his duties; and there are a number of similar injunctions addressed to the College servants. The cooks, for

instance, are not to 'basely treat (*turpiter tractent*) the scholars' food.' Finally, all proceedings taken 'in derision of' a civilian named Floyde, or Lloyd, which included the taking away of his B.C.L. degree, were, so far as the College had it in their power to do so, to be cancelled and reversed.*

In the course of the next ten years the taint of Popery had almost entirely disappeared from the College, and on the second visitation of Bishop Horne the delinquencies attributed to the offenders were for the most part moral or disciplinary, though we may, perhaps, suspect that political or theological tendencies may have had something to do with the rigour, far exceeding that of the first visitation, with which some of the Fellows were dealt with.

Bishop Horne's Commissaries on this occasion were John Kyngsmill and Thomas Bilson, Master of Arts. Bilson was, it may be remembered, one of the sturdy Protestant minority among the Fellows at the last visitation, and was now Head-master of Winchester. The accuser of his brethren was now their judge. Martin Colepeper, accused on the former visitation both of moral and papistical enormities, was now M.D. and Warden. No objection was raised to Bilson's position at first, but at a later stage the Warden protested against him on the ground that many of the Fellows had been in the school under him, while the Warden and Fellows were themselves his Visitors at Winchester. The proceedings were opened on January 16, 1575-76. Henry Barckly, one of the most gravely accused persons on

* Presumably Hugh Lloyd, subsequently Headmaster of Winchester, and then Chancellor of Rochester and Rector of Islip.

the previous visitation, had apparently resigned in view of the approaching visitation.

Among the delinquencies brought to light by the visitation, the following are worth mentioning:

John Piggott was accused of stealing books from Whittell and Blake and pawning the same. He admitted the charge as to sixteen books of Blake and seven or eight others, but did not remember whether any of them were Whittell's. His only defence was that 'he lacked monie.' Judgment was postponed.

William Erle denied a charge of seduction, and was ordered to find seven compurgators.

Richard Harley was accused of being a great 'gamer and frequenter of taverns,' and of passing four nights running out of College. He admitted the charge, and was sentenced to study in the library from 6 to 7 a.m. for fifteen days.

Cruse was ordered a similar penalty for 'inordinately playing at ball, hazard, and cards,' but his hours were from 1 to 2 p.m.

Harley senior was accused of giving £20 to be put into a jurist's place, and admitted that 'there was monie given by his frendes, viz., his father, for his place, but how much he cannot tell.'

Culter was also accused of buying a jurist's place, but denied it.

Body, Erle, and Blake had kept dogs. Blake was also accused of frequenting taverns, but pleaded that it was only when his friends came to see him. As a punishment he was confined to College for fifteen days.

Reading, Payne, and Estmonde denied frequenting taverns and 'inordinately playing at hazard.'

Smith was accused of singing base songs and of saying that he never wished to hear a preacher. He denied the 'turpiloquy,' but admitted having said 'Preachers should live according to their preaching, els lay men will not believe them.'

Tinchener was accused of being a notorious fighter (*insignis gladiator*), and admitted that he was wont to resort 'to the fence schole and plaide thereat for his recreacion.'

Pryme and Barker were accused of being 'seditious and factious,' and pleaded 'that they never exhorted anie man against person, but only they have exhorted others in causes of Religion and about the benefitt of the house.' They were probably overzealous Puritans.

Boorne denied 'suspiciously frequenting the house of Marbeck,' but was admonished not to frequent it any more. He was also accused of 'inordinately playing at ball and hazard,' and for this was ordered to the library like Harley. He was further accused of seducing Culter to Papistry. Culter, being called, testified to the fact, which Boorne denied.

After dealing with these minor offences, the Commissioner administered to the College a general exhortation about 'the reformation of their excesses in apparel and indecent garments,' and about the reformation of various 'discords and enormities' not further specified, and at length adjourned the visitation, but in the following June it was resumed by the Bishop in person. The Warden,* with Underhill and other Fellows, protested against this double visitation within two years

* The Warden entered a formal protest, but seems not to have pushed his opposition further.

as contrary to the statutes, but the objection was overruled by the Bishop as 'frivolous and inept.' Eventually they submitted to the visitation with various qualifications—'so far as the statutes allowed,' or the like. But the Bishop would not be satisfied with this. The gross injustice of the subsequent proceedings goes far to explain and justify that strong dislike of the *ex officio* oath,* and the procedure of the Ecclesiastical Courts generally, which played a larger part than is sometimes recognised in the troubles of the following century. After a long and rambling argument with the College, the Visitor pronounced a solemn interpretation of the statute, holding that the prohibition of more than one visitation did not exclude an adjournment of any duration. The whole body of Fellows were quite prepared to accept this decision under protest, (reserving to themselves any right of appeal which they possessed), to answer interrogatories and to submit in practice to the visitatorial authority of the Bishop. But this would not satisfy the truculent disciplinarian. He proceeded to demand of Underhill and the rest their private opinion of the rightness of his interpretation, and when they had admitted that they thought the Bishop's decision wrong, they were pronounced contumacious and rebellious, were lectured and browbeaten, and threatened with the utmost rigour of the law. Moreover, it appears that since the adjournment of the visitation by the Commissary, the book-thief Piggott had been deprived by the Bishop and another

* *I.e.*, the oath administered *ex officio* by the judge requiring the accused person to answer all questions put to him, though they might tend to criminate him, and though the charges suggested might be unsupported by evidence.

scholar put in his place—whether by the sole authority of the Visitor or by election at Winchester does not appear. The twenty-one protesting Fellows were now questioned as to their opinion of the legality of John Piggott's removal and his successor's election. A large body of Fellows admitted that they were against the Bishop on both points. At last his Lordship pronounced sentence of deprivation against the three ringleaders, and also against Ralph Pigott, who had also taken his kinsman's side, John Underhill, a future Bishop of Oxford, Osborne (afterwards M.D.), and John Body, all Masters of Arts, and demanded their withdrawal from the College, but they positively declined to retire, and the rest of the College refused to separate themselves from their colleagues. The Bishop thereupon sent for the Vice-Chancellor, and required him as a Justice of the Peace to lend the aid of the secular arm, and compel their removal. They were at length persuaded to withdraw without the employment of actual violence, and the Visitor then proceeded to lecture the College generally on its behaviour, and to issue a series of monitions. Four other rebels were suspended from commons and from voting or exercising any authority in the College for a month; and five more were only suspended from vote and office, but not from commons, during the Bishop's pleasure. The Bishop now adjourned the proceedings and left the College in peace for a while.

The monitions related to the conduct of College business, to the wearing of surplice, cap, and academical dress, and to corrupt resignations. The Bishop tells the College that their conduct in this matter had been

publicly complained of in the last Parliament, and that a statute was likely to be made to deal with it. The threat eventually took shape in an Act of Parliament (31 Eliz., cap. vi.) 'against abuses in election of schollers and presentacions to Benefices,' providing penalties for corrupt elections, and requiring the statute itself to be read before every election under penalty of £40, to be recoverable by action of debt from every person participating in such an election. Every election so made is declared void. New College is one of the few colleges in Oxford, it is believed, in which this statute is invariably complied with. Many of the colleges probably have not a single legally elected Head or Fellow upon their foundations, and might offer a rich harvest to any 'common informer' into whose hands this work may fall. But in spite of this punctilious observance of the letter the complaint of the statute continued for at least a couple of centuries to be true that, in spite of their oaths to the contrary,

'notwithstandinge it is sene and founde by experience that the said eleccions, presentacions and nominacions be manye tymes wrought and brought to passe with moneye guyftes and rewardes, whereby the fittest persons to be presented, elected, or nominated, wantinge money or friends, are sildome or not at all preferred.'

Besides the monitions verbally delivered by the Bishop and recorded in his register, he shortly afterwards (September, 1576) forwarded to the College a batch of injunctions,* partly on matters brought to his notice

* Preserved only in the reissue by his successors mentioned below.

by the visitation, partly by way of interpretations of points in the statutes upon which doubts had arisen. Among these we may notice the following:

1. The Readers (*Prelectores*) of Philosophy and Law are required to lecture five times a week. This shows that a regular system of College teaching had grown up here as elsewhere since the time of the founder.

2. The disputations are frequently begun late at night, and only last a quarter of an hour. They are in future to begin not later than 8 p.m. and to last two hours.

3. The Bursars are not to treat the dripping (*sepum*) and the like from the kitchen as a perquisite. (Bishop Bilson subsequently allowed the College to assign such things to the Bursars by way of salary.)

4. Fellows of M.A. standing or above it are not to dine, as they have been wont to do, at the Bursars' table (*i.e.*, apparently a table for guests of the College), or in the Chequer, in the little room at the end of the Hall.

5. Fellows are not to invite their friends to the Bursars' table at the expense of the College.

6. It is generally reported that in the election of Winchester scholars money prevails (*dominari pecuniam*). Anyone who takes such bribes is pronounced a violator of the statutes.

The other injunctions dealing with rather minute and technical matters may be omitted.

In the year 1585 Bishop Cooper held a visitation, at which the following among other injunctions* were issued:

* Known only from the reissue by Bishop Bilson mentioned below.

1. A celebration of the Holy Communion to be held once a month, at which all or the greater part of the Fellows shall participate; there is to be half-an-hour's sermon on each occasion.

2. A book to be kept in which absences on leave shall be recorded. No leave shall be given to go abroad.

3. The Deans may set impositions (*scholastica exercitia imponere*) to offending juniors. (Impositions, it may be mentioned, appear to be a sixteenth-century invention.)

4. Fines and court-fees (received in progress) are to go to the College, and the auditors are to insist on their being accounted for.

At the Winchester election of 1592 the same Bishop made an order that no places vacated after the commencement of the election should be filled up at that election. It is expressly declared that the purpose of this injunction is to prevent corrupt resignation in favour of a particular candidate. Another interesting interpretation of this prelate, given in 1524, ruled that the Canonists were bound to take deacon's orders at the time at which the founder had required them to enter upon the sub-diaconate.

In 1599 Bishop Bilson found it necessary to reissue the injunctions of Horne and Cooper, with additions or variations of his own. The growth of Puritanism made it necessary to insist on the use of surplice and hood, offenders to be punished by the loss of a month's commons. The office of woodwarden (whether held by a Fellow or not does not appear) was abolished, that official having been in the habit of appropriating fees

and profits which should have gone to the College. Permission was given to devote a portion of the College revenues to the increase of the library. A practice had grown up by which scholars and servitors of particular Fellows (in spite of the injunctions of former Visitors) were housed and boarded at the expense of the College. The Bishop ordered that such servitors should only be admitted by leave of the Warden and seniors, and that their expenses should be defrayed by the Fellows whom they served.

The Bishop also found it necessary to forbid the practice of taking meat from the kitchen and bread from the buttery between meals, probably for breakfast or 'nuncheons,' either in anticipation of, or in addition to, the College allowance for breakfast or supper.

Another injunction is directed against the practice of scholars entering the service of great men, waiting at their tables and wearing their livery, while keeping their places on the foundation. Such conduct is in future to entail expulsion.

A still more serious abuse which the Bishop found it necessary to check was the letting of College farms or other property to Fellows, who must presumably have absented themselves for long periods to look after them.

The Bursars were in the habit of extracting annual commissions from the bakers, brewers, and others employed by them; their selection is henceforth transferred to the Warden and Thirteen.

Scholars and Fellows of all ranks were to show proper respect to their superiors, especially within the College walls, by taking off their caps and giving way to them (*de via illis ad manifestum intervallum cedendo*), *i.e.*,

probationers to Fellows, non-graduates to graduates, Bachelors of Arts to Masters or Bachelors of Law, and all to Doctors. The loss of a month's commons is the penalty for the violation of this injunction. A similar penalty is denounced against the wearing of long hair or unclerically coloured garments.

While the Bishop enforces the statutes and injunctions of his predecessors about disputations, he introduces an exercise more in accordance with the educational ideas of the time by requiring two undergraduates or Bachelor Artists to declaim in Latin for half an hour each once a week before the assembled Society on some moral or political theme to be selected by the Warden.

The most important of the matters chronically in dispute between the Bishops of Winchester and the College was perhaps the matter of corrupt elections at Winchester. The subsequent history will show how ineffectual were the efforts alike of Parliaments and of Visitors to check the abuse by which the liberality which was intended for the comparatively poor was transferred to the comparatively rich, and what was intended for the able was appropriated by the stupid.

The visitations apart, the College records throw little light upon the religious vicissitudes of the time; the following items in the Bursars' rolls are, however, significant:

1533. To a goldsmith for repairing the great cross.

" " " first "

1534. 'Pro duobus libris de officio Visitationis Beatæ Mariæ, Nominis Jesu, et transfigurationis Domini.'

'Pro Imaginibus Divorum Georgii et Katherinæ, Crucifixi cum Maria et Johanne.'

'Pro quatuor Imaginibus emptis Wyntoniæ.'

(Total cost, £125 17s. 6d.)

1539. 'Pro reparatione navis argenteæ.'

1541. 'Pro frenge de serico pro ornamentis ad summum altare' (and other ornaments for the altar).

1545. 'Fabro aurario affigenti imaginem argenteam cruci.'

On the other hand we find

1540. Ambo placed in Hall 'pro lectura biblii.'

1541. 'Pro biblia inclusa ferreis cancellis in nave ecclesiæ.'

After the death of Henry VIII. changes become more apparent.

1547. Two books of Homilies and Injunctions bought.

1547-8. 'Circa frangendas et deponendas imagines in summo altari et reliquis partibus templi.'

1547-8. 'Pro libello de Communione.'

1548-9. 'Pro dimi [dio] paraphrasis Erasmi pro ecclesia de Swackclyffe.'

1548-9. 'Pro iv Psalteriis Anglice.'

In the same year there is a payment to one 'Marshall pulsanti ad preces matutinales.' This is probably John Marshall, who was elected in 1549, and who, under Mary, became Vicar of Upham in the diocese of Winchester. On Elizabeth's accession he went abroad and became Canon of St. Peter's Church, Lisle. He wrote a treatise on the Cross, and left a piece of the true cross to the Cathedral at Lisle.*

* Ath. Oxon. i., p. 568, ed. Bliss.

The reaction under Mary is illustrated by the following entries:

MARY.

1556-7. 'Pro confectione 3 vestium pro tribus altaribus inferioribus de rubeo serico cum zonis.'

1557-8. 'Pro duobus missalibus.'

'Pro libro hymnorum' and various ornaments for the altars.

'Pro pingendo velamine pendente ante crucem.'

ELIZABETH.

1559-60. 'Sol. duobus laborantibus per quatuor dies in destruendis altaribus, tollentibus picturas, destruentibus imagines.'

Communion books and psalters again bought.

1571. Rood-lofts taken down.

'Pro expensis Commissariorum.'

1575. 'Pro libro homiliarum et psalmorum.'

The following notes from the Bursars' rolls may be added:

1509-10. The Justices of the King, sitting at Oxford (Grevyll and Elyott), are entertained by the College. The King sends a gift—'farinam.'

1529. Wolsey sends for the Warden and other representatives of the College, whose expenses appear in the Bursars' rolls.

1534. Cromwell's Visitors are magnificently entertained.

1540. Payment to Dr. Smythe 'pro portione sua de hoc Collegio sapiente ex mandato regis stipendium publicæ lecturæ in theologia.'

(A Roger Smythe was elected in 1533 and removed in 1538 for non-residence.)

1541. Expenses in connexion with a visit to London to oppose the King's project of alienating Stepingley for his private use.

1545. Benevolence of £10 paid to the King.

Colepepper retained the wardenship till 1599, when he resigned. He had been Dean of Chichester since 1577, and Archdeacon of Berks since 1588. He was succeeded by George Ryves, D.D., who is only remembered as the founder of the endowment for the Trinity Sunday University sermon in the College Chapel. He died in 1613. He was also a Canon of Winchester. He was succeeded by Arthur Lake (Warden 1613-1617), once Rector of Stanton St. John, now Dean of Worcester, a learned, moderate and liberal divine, who left the wardenship for the See of Bath and Wells, where he became the model diocesan Bishop of his age. He used to sit in his own consistory, personally superintended the carrying out of the penances, and ended by asking the offenders to dinner.

It was during Lake's Vice-Chancellorship (1613) that a Jew was converted in Oxford,

'and a Sabbath was appointed publickly, whereon Baptism should be administered to the new disciple in St. Mary's Church. Dr. William Twysse, of New College, was commanded to preach before the administration of this sacred ordinance, to add the more lustre to it. But the very day before he was to be baptised, this dissembling Jew ran away.'*

* Wood, 'Annals,' ii., p. 316.

Lake had him pursued, arrested, and lodged in the castle, but the supposed convert declined to submit to the ordinance, and the disappointed Doctor had to turn his sermon into an anti-Semitic discourse, a feat of extemporization which excited the applause and admiration of the whole University, and laid the foundation of the preacher's reputation.

The wardenship of Lake's successor, Robert Pincke, B.M. and D.D. (1617-1647), brings us to the period of the Great Rebellion, to which, in so far as it affected the fortunes of New College, a separate chapter must be devoted.

With Warden White, it may be noticed, began the custom that the Warden of New College should hold also the Rectory of Colerne, in Wilts, which has lasted to our own day. But many Wardens held other College livings. In addition to Colerne, White and his three successors held Stanton St. John, Lake retaining it as Bishop until his death.

This was an era of much preaching. The homiletical passion surely never took so quaint a form as in one Richard Haydock, Fellow of New College, who (as Wood tells us) 'did practise physic in the day, and preached at night in his bed. His practice came by his profession (for he was Bachelor of Physic of this University), and his preaching (as he pretended) by revelation. It is also further said that he would take a text in his sleep and deliver a good sermon upon it; and though his auditors were willing to silence him by pulling, haling, and pinching, yet would he pertinaciously persist to the end, and sleep still. The fame of this sleeping preacher spread abroad with a

light wing, which, coming to the King's (James I.) knowledge, he commanded him to Court. And when the time came that the preacher thought it was fit for him to be asleep, he began with a prayer, then took a text of Scripture, which he significantly enough insisted on a while, but after made an excursion against the Pope, the cross in baptism, and the last Canons of the Church of England, and so concluded sleeping. The King would not trouble him that night, letting him rest after his labours, but sent for him the next morning, and handled him so like a cunning surgeon that he found out the sore, making him confess not only his sin and error in the act, but the cause that urged him to it, which was that he apprehended himself as a buried man in the University, being of a low condition, and if something eminent and remarkable did not spring from him, to give life to his reputation, he should never appear anybody, which made him attempt this novelty to be taken notice of.'* The King pardoned his offence, but he was apparently obliged to resign his Fellowship, and practise physic (without preaching) in Salisbury. Wood adds the following epigram by a contemporary poet, John Owen :

> 'In somnis ignota prius mysteria discis,
> Multaque te vigilem quæ latuere doces :
> Quanta plus igitur scires, si mortuus esses,
> Tam bene quem docuit mortis imago loqui.'

New College, as a body, usually took the most conservative, the most Churchy view that the circumstances of the time permitted ; but Conservatism varies as much

* 'Annals,' ii., p. 284.

as Radicalism, and it is curious to find how completely, as Elizabeth's reign wore on, the highest Churchmen had come to treat the Calvinistic system as the accepted Theology of the Church of England, and how completely the difference between High Churchman and Puritan or sectary came to turn upon mere questions of ritual and discipline. The most significant glimpse which we get into the condition of New College in the age which terminates with the Revolution is contained in a letter of Archbishop Laud addressed to his brother of Winchester as Visitor of the College. The letter had best be given in full:

'Another business there is, which I think may be very well worthy of your consideration; and if you do not give a remedy (as I think it abundantly deserves) I do not know who either can or will. I have often wondered why so many good Scholars came from Winchester to New College, and yet so few of them afterwards prove eminent Men. And while I lived in Oxford I thought upon divers things that might be causes of it, and I believe true ones, but I have lately heard of another, which I think hath done and doth the College a great deal of harm, in the Breeding of these Young men. When they come from Winchester they are Probationers for two years; and some years after should be allowed to Logick, Philosophy, Mathematicks, and the like Grounds of Learning, the better to enable them to study Divinity with judgment. But I am of late accidentally come to know, that when the Probationers stand for their Fellowships, and are to be examined how they have profited, One chief thing in which they are examined is, how diligently they have read Calvin's Institutions, and are more strictly held to it, how they have profited in that, than in almost any kind of

Learning besides. I do not deny but that Calvin's Institutions may profitably be read, and as one of their first Books for Divinity, when they are well grounded in other Learning; but to begin with it so soon, I am afraid doth only hinder them from all grounds of Judicious Learning; but also too much possess their judgments before they are able to judge, and makes many of them humorous in, if not against, the Church. For so many of them have proved in this latter age, since my own memory in that University. Your Lordship is Visitor there, and I think you cannot do a better deed, than to advise a way, how to treat this Business with the Warden, who is a learned and discreet man, and then think upon some remedy for it. For I am verily perswaded, it doth that College a great deal of harm. I do not hold it fit that Your Lordship should fall upon this Business too suddainly. When the Warden comes next to the Election may be a fit time; nor would I have you to let it be known that you have this Information from me; but sure I am 'tis true, and needs* a remedy.

'W. CANT.

'*February* 2, 1635 (1636, N.S.)'

The most that the Primate of all England, the leader of the great High Church reaction, the typical 'Arminian' of his day, can venture to urge against an education based on Calvin's 'Institutes' is that it is premature. What was the result of this letter or of the Bishop's conference with the Warden is not known, but a remedy for the excessive study of Calvin, or, indeed, of anything else, was not long in coming.

Whatever may be thought of Laud's explanation, the fact of the great promise and small achievement of

* Laud's 'History of his Chancellorship' (London, 1700), p. 82.

Wykehamists attracted the attention of other observers. There was an ugly proverb, we are told, current at this time: 'Golden Scholars, silver Bachelors, leaden Masters, wooden Doctors,' 'which is attributed,' Wood continues in a private letter, 'to their rich Fellowships they have, especially to their ease and good diet, in which I think they exceed any College else. From thence you may suppose they did build that great privy house you were in.'*

Another of the Oxford abuses which attracted the martinet eye of the archiepiscopal Chancellor was the wearing of 'long, undecent hair' by the younger Fellows. We learn from the MS. notes of Warden Pincke that in 1633 one Robert Barkar (F. 1629, d. 1635) was

'punished a fortnight's commins for having long hayre down to his nose before; and he had once before been punished and warned for the lyke a week's commins. Then before and with the consent of Mr. Axen, Dean of Law, John Eldred was then also—viz., Aug. 24, 1633—punished for having long hair down to his shoulders (Stat. 23) a week's commins. . . . had a little before given publicklie a strayte charge from the Vice-Chancellor, he from our Chancellor against long hayre, slashed doublets, and bootes and spures, under gownes and no regard made of it by these two gallants.'

The College enjoyed the expensive luxury of a royal visit in 1566, when orations were made by George Coriat and William Raynolds, Bachelors of Arts, but the College bore a comparatively minor part in the

* Ballard MSS., xiv., p. 124.

entertainment of the Sovereign. In the Civil Law disputations before the Queen at St. Mary's, Dr. Thomas Whyte, of New College, figured as an opponent, and in the disputation in physic, Dr. Walter Baylie.

In 1583 Albert Alasco, the learned Polish prince, was 'entertained with a sumptuous dinner and scholastical exercises in New College Hall.'* The entertainment cost the University and Colleges £350. Another State visit was paid to the College by the French Ambassador, Viscount Chartres, in 1593. In leaving the Hall, we are told by Wood,

'he discovered the pictures of many candles or flambois in the windows, and "fiat Lux" written under. But understanding not what they meant, asked Dr. Culpepper (the Warden), who told him that they were set up by his predecessor Dr. Chandler as a rebus of his own name; to which the Count replied that instead of *fiat lux*, might rather have been written *Fiant tenebræ*, because the painting darkened the Hall.'†

In 1605, James I. was entertained 'with a royal feast and incomparable musick.' Antony Wood adds that a great increase of drunkenness took place in Oxford about this time, and attributes it to this visit of the Court, which 'left such impressions of debauchery upon the students that by a little practice they improved themselves so much that they became more excellent than their masters, and that also without scandal, because it became a laudable fashion.' The difficulty was ultimately met (1617) by a statute im-

* Wood, ii. 217. † *Ibid.*, ii. 256.

posing whipping on the younger, fines and other punishments on the older, students convicted of 'noctivagation' or taken in alehouses. It must be remarked that Antony Wood was a John Bull of the type which believes that the inscription on the gates of hell is: 'Ici on parle Français.' Oxford vices he habitually ascribes either to the French or to the Court.

The College also took the leading share in the entertainment of the famous Antony, Archbishop of Spalatro, the Dalmatian Primate, who had joined the Anglican Church (afterwards Dean of Windsor), and came to pay a reverential visit to the headquarters of Anglican theology during Lake's Vice-Chancellorship. Whether through disappointment with his English preferment or otherwise, he returned to communion with Rome.

It is interesting to observe that three out of the four 'sub-delegates' appointed in 1629 to conduct that revision of the statutes commonly known as the Laudian Code, by which the University was governed down to the era of modern University reform, were New College men: Dr. Pincke, the Warden, Dr. Thomas James, and Dr. Zouche — now Regius Professor of Civil Law, Principal of St. Alban's Hall—the fourth being the greatest of Oxford antiquaries, Bryan Twyne, of Corpus Christi College. James, however, soon retired, having quarrelled with the delegacy (according to Wood), because they objected to accept his own collections of 'old Statutes with all their contradictions, Antinomies, Antiquations, and the like.' The main burden of the task ultimately fell upon Zouche and Pincke. Zouche was the most famous civilian of his time, and was after-

wards Judge of the Admiralty Court, and a Visitor of the University at the Restoration. Thomas James, first Bodley's Librarian, was perhaps the most famous scholar, in the highest sense of that word, whom New College ever produced. He knew what criticism was in an uncritical age; as a patristic student, he boasts of having restored the genuine texts of 300 passages corrupted by the Papists. He was also one of the first workers upon Wycliffe. His labours remained largely unpublished for want of means. 'If I were in Germany,' he pathetically remarks, 'the States would defray all my charges. Cannot our estates supply what is wanting?' The sub-deanery of Wells was the highest preferment that England had to offer to one of its most learned men in the 'learned age' of Europe.

This seems the proper place to allude to a peculiar privilege which long continued to be the most distinctive and characteristic feature of the College constitution. It is well known that till recently Fellows of New College claimed their degrees as a matter of right, without any examination. There is no trace of such a privilege till the year 1607, when the Duke of Dorset, as Chancellor of the University, requires the Vice-Chancellor and proctors to recognise this right and to admit New College men to their degrees without 'supplicating' the Regents.* It is simply inconceivable that so curious and important a privilege could ever have been obtained by the founder for his College by any formal charter or grant of King or

* Wood, 'Annals,' ii., p. 292. *Cf.* Ayliffe, 'Past and Present State of the University of Oxford,' ii., pp. 315, 316.

University without any record of the fact being left in the well-kept muniment-room of the College or in the records of the University. The explanation of the supposed privilege we believe to be as follows. The 'grace' of congregation was not anciently necessary for the taking of a degree except in those cases where some of the numerous and cumbersome formalities (residence, hearing or giving of lectures, disputations, etc.) required for a degree had been omitted. The 'grace' was, in short, a dispensation from some of the statutable requirements. At a comparatively early period it became the rule, rather than the exception, to seek for and obtain some relaxation of these onerous conditions; and, as the old University system broke down, as University lectures were practically superseded by college lectures, and one disputation after another degenerated into a farce, it became practically impossible to take a degree without the 'grace.' The founder of New College, anxious to resist the already growing laxity, had provided in his statutes that none of his scholars should seek dispensation from any of the uttermost requirements of the statutes. He desired that all his students should be, in medieval language, *rigorosi*, not *graciosi* —honour-men (to use modern language) rather than charity passmen. While, then, in all other cases the 'grace' became a matter of necessity and a matter of course, Wykehamists alone, bound by their oath to their own statutes, supplicated for no graces, but (when the statutable requirements had become thoroughly obsolete) were silently allowed their degrees without the formality of supplication. Thus, what had originally been intended as an exceptional disability

came to be looked upon as an exceptional privilege; what had been intended by the founder as an exceptional stimulus to industry acted in practice as an exceptional sanction to idleness. When the privilege was for the first time formally recognised as a matter of right by the University in 1607, there was, it must be remembered, no examination at all, in the ordinary sense of the word, for the University degrees; but when, by the Laudian Statutes, a pass examination was established, the exemption must have told prejudicially upon the industry of the College. Still, this examination could not have been a very formidable terror to men bred at Winchester; and this, too, ere long, degenerated into a purely farcical examination by two young Masters of Arts selected by the candidate and well dined by him the night before. It was when the new Examination Statutes of 1800 and 1807 began to awaken the University from its eighteenth-century torpor that this strange perversion of the founder's intentions contributed to keep the College out of the progressive current which was everywhere else gaining strength. Few better texts could be supplied for a homily on the difference between the letter and the spirit, and the vanity of attempts to provide by testamentary dispositions against the abuse of endowments. The voluntary surrender of the privilege in 1834 shall be related in its proper place.

Two other distinctive privileges were claimed by the College at about this time. The undergraduate-Fellows of New College claimed to wear tassels, or, rather, 'tufts,' to their caps at a time when other undergraduates wore none, and to sit in the Bachelors' seats

at St. Mary's.* There was some further peculiarity of costume, of which it is not very easy to give a clear account. In a MS. note added to a copy of the University Statutes by Bishop Barlow, who was Provost of Queen's from 1658 to 1677, there is an explanatory note upon the University 'cappa' (the red cope or convocation habit worn over the gown by Doctors)—'Capa est habitus talaris sine manicis seu clausa interius seu aperta. We call it a Habit, such as New College Tippiters alwaies wore above their gownes; and all Doctors when they appear in Scarlett besides their Hood, have their Cappa, or Habit.' It is probable that the black cappa anciently worn by all Masters, and sometimes by Bachelors and undergraduates, was retained, after it had elsewhere become obsolete, by this conservative College or by some class of persons in it; but who constituted this class of tippeters we are unable to explain. It might be conjectured that they were the same anomalous class of undergraduate Fellows who had arrogated to themselves certain other prerogatives of Bachelors.

Together with the Fellows of King's College, Cambridge, it is sometimes alleged that the Fellows of New College possess the right of seeking ordination from any Bishop without letters dimissory,† but it is doubtful whether this is not really a right enjoyed by all Fellows of colleges.

A word must be said as to the history of the founder's kin privileges in the College. For a century or so after

* Letter of Warden Coxed to the Vice-Chancellor in 1738 (in possession of the Warden).

† Cripps, 'Laws Relating to the Church and Clergy,' 1857, p. 14.

the foundation, founder's kin Fellows were numerous, and were, no doubt, *bonâ fide* descendants of the founder's brothers and sisters. Then for a century there were no such claims. Then suddenly appears the name of Richard Fiennes (afterwards first Lord Saye and Sele), claiming to be descended from Sir William Wickham, knight, son of William Perot by Alice, daughter of William Champneys, by Agnes, the founder's sister. Such is the entry in the register of Winchester College, but in 1586 the Visitor pronounced it to be 'different in material points from the original roll, and therefore to be utterly void and of no force,' the entry there being merely, 'Ric. Fenys de Broughton, Consanguineus Dni Fundatoris,' and there being no proof that Richard Fenys was, in fact, descended from Agnes Champneys. The Visitor's decision was reversed by a very questionable stretch of authority on the part of Lord Keeper Hatton, on the strength of whose judgment the family of Fiennes have battened upon the College from that day till the abolition of the founder's kin privileges by the Commission of 1855. As founder's kin Fellows had the privilege of staying at Winchester much later and trying for places at New College much oftener than other candidates, it is obvious that they must frequently have fallen below the by no means high minimum of capacity required of other aspirants to the benefits of the foundation. For long periods in the history of the College about a fourth of the Fellows were persons of this class. In the year 1580, it should be added, Bishop Cooper made an order, 'for ye sett number of eighteen Founders in both ye Colleges.' Later on, two were elected to New College every year.

The following New College worthies may be added to those already mentioned in this chapter:

James Turbervile, D.D. (F. 1514): Bishop of Exeter 1555.

John Holyman, D.D. (F. 1512): Rector of Colerne; monk of Reading; wrote against Luther and the divorce; Bishop of Bristol 1554.

John Bekinsaw (F. 1520): Professor of Greek at Paris; vacated his Fellowship by marriage in 1538; author of 'De supremo et absoluto Regis imperio.'

John Wyatt (F. 1512): Disputed against the three Protestant martyrs at Oxford in 1554.

John White (F. 1527): Headmaster of Winchester 1534; Warden of Winchester 1541; sent to the Tower under suspicion of Popery in 1550; Bishop of Lincoln 1554; Bishop of Winchester 1556. Preaching before Elizabeth on the death of Mary, he gave offence by quoting the proverb, 'Melior est canis vivus leone mortuo,' and was sent to the Tower and deprived. He gave to the College the manor of Hall Place in the county of Southampton on condition of celebrating his obit.

Thomas Martyn (F. 1539): Biographer of Wykeham; Chancellor of Bishop Gardiner; Dean of Arches; Judge of the Admiralty, etc. Wrote against the marriage of priests, in the course of a reply to which Bishop Poynet of Winchester writes: 'They might easily perceive that in playing the Christmas lord's minion in New College in Oxon in thy fool's coat, thou did'st learn thy boldness and begin to put off all shame.'

Sir Henry Sidney, K.G.: Father of the more famous Sir Philip; successively Lord President of Wales and Deputy of Ireland; said by Wood to have been for a short time a student of New College in 1543.

John Boxall (F. 1542): A Romanist who kept quiet under Edward VI.; under Mary became Secretary of State, Warden of Winchester, Dean of Peterborough, Norwich, and Windsor; imprisoned under Elizabeth; died abroad 1570.

Christopher Johnson (F. 1555): Headmaster of Winchester in 1560, but resigned to practise medicine in London. Pronounced by Wood to have surpassed all the poets of his age.

John Mericke (F. 1557): Vicar of Hornchurch; Bishop of Sodor and Man 1515; died 1599.

Sir George Turbervile (F. 1561): Secretary of Embassy to Russia under Elizabeth; poet.

Thomas Bilson (F. 1565): Headmaster, then Warden, of Winchester; Bishop of Worcester: Bishop of Winchester; Privy Councillor.

John Underhill (F. 1563): Rector of Lincoln; Bishop of Oxford 1589; died 1592.

John Harmar (F. 1574): Regius Professor of Greek 1585; Warden of Winchester; a New Testament translator in 1611; editor of Chrysostom; died 1613; buried in choir of chapel.

John Lloyd (F. 1579): Regius Professor of Greek; Vicar of Writtle; scholar and preacher; translated Josephus into Latin.

Thomas Stevens: The first Englishman who actually visited India was Thomas Stevens, in 1579. He is usually said to have been educated at Winchester and New College; but there is no trace of his name in the register of Fellows and scholars. The register of Winchester contains the name of a Thomas Stevens, who became a scholar in 1564. It is unlikely that a Winchester scholar could have been a gentleman commoner at New College, and the absence of his name from the register affords a strong presumption

that he was not a New College man. He was afterwards Rector of the Jesuit College in Sabrette. The impetus to Indian trade in the end of Queen Elizabeth's reign was in some measure owing to the interest aroused by the reports sent home by Stevens in his letters to his father (see Sir George Birdwood's 'Report on the Old Records of the India Office,' pp. 196, 197; and Arber's 'English Garner,' vol. iii., p. 182).

CHAPTER VII

THE REVOLUTION AND THE RESTORATION

In the deepest sense it may be that the history of its Universities is the history of a country in microcosm. But it is just what one does not find much about in the pages of the ordinary historian which as a rule gives University history its importance—the ideas that fill the minds of teachers and of students, the books that are read and the books that are written, the influence of mind upon mind. From the point of view of the general historian, the story of the Universities commonly belongs to a rather sequestered and unvisited by-path of history. It is only at a few stirring epochs of revolution that the thoughts and sayings and doings of scholastic societies force themselves upon his notice. Never has the actual daily life of a University been thrown into more intimate relations with external history than at Oxford during the revolutionary years of the seventeenth century. A full history of that period in the history of Oxford would almost amount to a history of the Great Rebellion itself; and no doubt the history of a single College, fully told, would be the history of the University in epitome. Here we can do no more

than notice a few of the most prominent incidents by which the Great Rebellion made itself felt within the peaceful walls of New College.

In July, 1642, an order came down from the King, addressed to the Commissioners of Array for the county, that the University should defend itself in the event of attack. A more definite call to arms was contained in the King's proclamation of war against the rebels on August 9. On August 1 the actual muster of the University train-bands took place—'330 or more,' with the drums and flags of the incorporated Cooks of Oxford. The Vice-Chancellor, Prideaux, Bishop of Worcester, had found it expedient to retire into the country; he was 'wanted' by the Parliamentary Serjeant-at-Arms. Our Warden, Dr. Pinke, was left to act as Pro-Vice-Chancellor, and he would exercise a mild and distant supervision over the drills in the front quadrangle from the window of his lodgings. He also appears to have initiated the first attempts to fortify the town, and to have held long technical discussions with the military authorities on the subject. Thomas Reade, D.C.L., a Fellow of the College, is mentioned as actually serving in the ranks of the pikemen. The war brought him no fortune; he died a Brother of the Charterhouse. Two others, Good and Winderbanke, were among the delegates appointed by the University to co-operate with Sir John Byron in command of the King's troopers. It being rumoured that Lord Saye, the Wykehamist commander of the Parliamentary forces at Aylesbury, was meditating an attack, a deputation was sent by the University to deprecate such a proceeding. Unfortunately, Lord Saye was not there, and

'those Commanders that were, returned very sharp answers, and insolently demanded of them the doctors that were delinquents, meaning those that had sent the University money to the King. Upon which, after the return of the Masters, Dr. Pinke, the Deputy Vice-Chancellor, repaired thither to deprecate for himself, but they as perfidious persons laid hands on him as a Delinquent, sent him to London to the Parliament, also forthwith by order committed him Prisoner to the Gate-house at Westminster.'*

On September 12 a body of Parliamentary troopers entered the town, apparently without any opposition, followed on the 14th by Lord Saye,† who was a New College man. The same night (being late) he, with a guard of soldiers, and with torches, went to New College to search for plate and arms—with what success we are not told. On the night of the 22nd Lord Saye again went to his old College, 'where searching Dr. Pinke's study, took thence divers papers, and the same time one of his men brake down the King's picture of Alabaster gilt, which stood there; at which his Lordship seemed to be much displeased.' The Parliamentary troops got out of the city before Edgehill, and after the battle (October 29) their place was taken by the King himself. The city now became the Royalist headquarters. In November the tower and cloisters of New College were turned into a magazine 'for arms and furniture, bullets,

* Wood, iii. 448.

† William Fiennes, second Baron and first Viscount Saye and Sele. Wood's opinion of a Roundhead is not to be taken as final; but his view of him is that he 'being ill-natured, choleric and severe, and rigid and withal highly conceited of his own worth, did expect great matters at Court, but they failing he sided with the discontented party.' Under Charles II. he became Lord Privy Seal and Lord Chamberlain.

gunpowder, match,' etc. This involved the turning of the choir-school out of its usual quarters between the chapel and the cloisters, and their 'removal to the choristers' chambers at the east end of the common hall of the said College: it was then a dark, nasty room, and very unfit for such a purpose, which made the scholars complaine, but in vaine.'* Such is the account of Antony Wood, whose history is now so valuable to us as the testimony of an eye-witness. He was at this time a little boy of eleven and a pupil in the school, but evidently a very close observer, if not yet a diligent diarist. He goes on to tell us that it was found almost impossible to prevent the boys getting out of the school to see the University train-bands drill in the quadrangle.

'And it being a novel matter, there was no holding of the schoolboys in their school in the cloyster from seeing and following them. And Mr. Wood remarked well that some of them were so besotted with the training and activities and gayities therein of some young scholars, as being a longing condition to be one of the traine, that they could never be brought to their books again.'†

It was to this war that New College School owes its most distinguished alumnus. The progress of the war by September had compelled Wood's withdrawal from Lord Williams' Grammar School at Thame, where he had been under a New College master. We are sorry to find that he always regretted Thame.

Other Fellows besides Reade served with the Uni-

* Wood, 'Life and Times,' i. 69.
† *Ibid.*, i. 53.

From a photograph by the [*Oxford Camera Club*

THE CITY WALLS FROM THE GARDEN

versity train-bands. William Oldys was killed (*c.* 1644) in a skirmish near Adderbury ; another, William Aliffe, is described as 'captus et occisus' in 1645. The College plate, of course, went with that of the other Colleges into the royal melting-pot, and was coined in the mint at New Inn Hall. The Fellows kept back only their Communion-plate, and three cups made of 'Indian nuts.'*

From the beginning of the Civil War, the autumn of 1642, to the surrender of the city on June 24, 1646, Oxford was transformed into a fortress, some of the Colleges into a court, the rest into a barrack ; and the vices of both left a permanent and indelible mark upon the University. Oxford was never again a place of study in the sense that it had been in the Middle Ages, in the sixteenth century, and most emphatically in 'the learned age,' the first half of the seventeenth. But the story of the Civil War and the siege of Oxford does not specially concern us now. We do not hear of the College bearing any special part in the defence. The Wykehamists must have mounted guard with the rest on the city walls, but the Parliamentary cannon on Headington could never have reached the venerable masonry. With the exit of the Royalist garrison the Puritan régime began. Here, fortunately, the Register of the Parliamentary Visitors† enables us to trace the fortunes of each particular College with the greatest minuteness.

The Visitors appointed by the Parliament were of

* This appears from a note of Warden Woodward's, though the College does not appear in Gutch's list. See Appendix on College Plate.

† Edited by Professor Montagu Burrows for the Camden Society.

course sturdy puritanical divines, till now persecuted or barely tolerated denizens of the despised unendowed Halls. It must have been a bitter humiliation to good Churchmen from respectable Colleges like New College to be had up, interrogated, and admonished by men like Prynne, the scurrilous barrister and pamphleteer who had stood in the pillory; John Wilkinson, of Magdalen Hall, now Principal of that society, 'an illiterate, testy old creature, one that for forty years together had been the sport of boys, a person of more beard than learning'; Henry Wilkinson, known as Long Harry, who 'bore in his face the exact cut of a precisian,' and was always having his windows broken by undergraduates.* With great judgment, the Parliamentary Visitors proceeded to appoint two or more members of each College as 'delegates to the Visitors' in dealing with their respective foundations. The representatives of New College were Mr. Townsend (F. 1644) and Mr. Allanson (F. 1641). The visitation began on September 30, 1647. After removing Dr. Fell from the vice-chancellorship, the Visitors dealt with particular Colleges. Their proceedings were dilatory, probably owing to the policy of studied moderation (according to the standard of the times) which they systematically pursued. It was not, apparently, till May 8, 1648, that the members of New College were summoned to appear before them in the President's lodgings at Magdalen, the College butlers having been two days before required to send in a list of the members, together with its buttery-book.

Before that date arrived, the College had lost its

* Wood, 'Annals,' iii. 615, 618.

Warden. On January 5, 1643, Pinke had been released on bail, and soon afterwards found his way back to College. Shortly after the beginning of the visitation (November 2, 1647) he died from the effects of a fall down the steps of his own lodgings a few days before,* and so anticipated the ejection which would certainly have been his fate. He was the last Warden of the learned days. He was the author of a very curious work called 'Quæstiones in Logica, Ethica, Physica, et Metaphysica' (Oxford, 1640), a collection of problems for disputation, with a formidable array of references to authorities, classical, patristic, and scholastic. The work is very suggestive of the turning-point in Oxford history at which we have arrived. Even when it appeared, the work must have been almost an anachronism. 1640 is almost the last year in which such a work could have been published in Oxford or in England—a work in which the schoolmen and their problems are still treated seriously, in which Ramus, Descartes, and of course Hobbes, are alike ignored, while there is almost as little hint of the theological as of the political and military convulsions which were so soon to interrupt the Warden's old-world studies. From this time no Warden of New College has left a name which can be found in the library catalogue of his University or his College until the days of Shuttleworth, who became Warden in 1822.

One or two of the many good deeds of Warden Pinke deserve to be mentioned because they introduce us to one of the most noticeable New College men of the time. He contributed to pay the debts of the learned,

* Wood, iii. 530.

eccentric, and unfortunate Thomas Lydiat (F. 1593) when he had found his way first into Bocardo, and eventually into the King's Bench Prison, by becoming security for his brother. Lydiat was one of the most learned men of his time, his studies ranging far and wide round the connected subjects of chronology and astronomy. He 'first contrived the octodesexcentary period,' and entered into a controversy with Scaliger, in which that eminent scholar (according to so good a judge as Archbishop Ussher) was more abusive than successful. He was long imprisoned by the Parliament, and is commemorated by a tablet set up at the expense of the College in his church of Alkerton, where he died in 1646. The black marble altar-tomb, or table, 'adorned round with books and mathematical instruments cut in white stone,' in the cloisters has disappeared. He published much; but vast MSS., including a 'Harmony of the Gospels,' will long await an editor in the Bodleian. He is likely to be best remembered by Johnson's lines in the 'Vanity of Human Wishes':

> 'Then mark what ills the scholar's life assail,
> Toil, envy, want, the patron, and the jail;
> See nations, slowly wise and meanly just,
> To buried merit raise the tardy bust.
> If dreams yet flatter, once again attend,
> Hear Lydiat's life, and Galileo's end.'

The other two men by whose patronage Pinke conferred honour upon himself and the College were Cambridge men ejected for refusing the Covenant, viz., the learned High Church controversialist, Peter

Gunning, afterwards Bishop of Ely, who during the Parliamentary period courageously conducted the Anglican services in London attended by John Evelyn; and the still more eminent mathematician, theologian, preacher, Isaac Barrow, eventually Bishop of St. Asaph. It is unfortunate that we can claim only so slight, transitory, perhaps uncertain, a connexion with perhaps the greatest man who was ever on the foundation of New College. The sojourn of these two men in the College must have been brief, as their names do not occur in the Visitors' Register. Another chaplain of this period was Morgan Owen, the famous chaplain of Laud, who built the porch of St. Mary's with the 'superstitious image' of the Virgin which was made an article of charge against the Archbishop. He became Bishop of Llandaff in 1638.

On the death of Pinke the College was inhibited by the Visitors from proceeding to another election. The Fellows thereupon sent a deputation to their rebellious ex-Fellows, Lord Saye and his son, Nathaniel Fiennes, to ask them to use their influence with a view to the College being allowed a free election. The answer was that a free election would be permitted, provided they elected John White, an ex-Fellow, commonly known as the Patriarch of Dorchester (Nov. 7, 1647). The friendly hint was not accepted, and the College boldly elected Dr. Stringer (November 18), a Fellow and Professor of Greek. John White, it may be mentioned, is described even by Antony Wood as 'a moderate, not morose or peevish Puritan,' and 'one of the learned and moderate' members of the Westminster Assembly. During his long ministry at Trinity Church, Dorchester

(Dorset), 'he expounded the Scripture once and half over again.' He died in 1648.

On May 29, 1647, the loyalists of New College—at least, the clerks and choristers—had the audacity to celebrate the Prince's birthday by 'a Bonefier on the Mount in the College Walks.' In July an attempt was made to recapture the 'Guard and Magazine' in the College. But the fact was let out by a boozing and boastful conspirator, and one of them, William Collier, a servant of Pembroke College, 'was imprisoned at New College in one of the Chaplains' Chambers under the Hall, who (after he had been tortured by burning his hands, that were tied behind him, with lighted match, purposely to gain a confession of those that were engaged in the plot) made his escape through the window and over the high embattled wall adjoyning, and so saved the hangman a labour.' Will Collier—'Honest Will Collier,' as Hearne sympathetically calls him—became a Yeoman Bedel after the Restoration, and a famous toper; he numbered the discreditable Cavalier-Bishop Peter Mew among his most intimate boon-companions.

The Visitation of the University and Colleges began in Sept. 1647, but it was not (as we have seen) till May 8, 1648, that the members of New College were cited to appear in the lodgings of the President of Magdalen. Every member of the College was now required to say whether he submitted himself to the authority of the Visitors appointed by Parliament. On the following day the answers were handed in. Each College had its own way of dealing with the casuistical problem which presented itself. In substance New

College was the most uncompromising and united of all the Colleges, but the form of its answers aimed at giving the minimum of offence. Its members, for the most part, put their refusal upon a minute and delicate scruple of conscience. The statutes, jealous for the College's independence of University authority and for the rights of Wykeham's successors, forbade the College to submit to the authority of any Visitor who was an actual—*i.e.*, resident—member of the University. Long Harry and others among the Visitors fell within this category. So Mr. Lucas, the Sub-warden, replied: 'For the Visitation of the Universities I referre to the Answere given in by the Delegates. As for my College, I am bound by expresse Statute of my Colledge, to which I am sworne, to acknowledge noe man as my Visitor that is an actual member of the Universitie.' Twenty Fellows,* seven scholars, two chaplains, and two clerks, repeated this refusal. The answers are almost invariably the same in substance, but are expressed with greater or less fulness. Just a few, more timid or more constitutionally inclined than the rest, try to let themselves down more easily by slight qualifications. Two or three expressly admit the authority of Parliament. William le Beaue, for instance, afterwards Bishop of Llandaff,† in consideration of this acknowledgment, humbly requests 'a favourable connivance to the most indispensable

* Two other Fellows refused later (pp. 14, 150).

† Fellow 1637. He became Major of Horse on the Royalist side, and afterwards served with the Swedes against Poland. He was restored to his Fellowship 1660, and became Vicar of Adderbury; 1679 Bishop of Llandaff; died 1705. A typical Restoration prelate.

oathes and solemnest engagements' of his private foundation. 'To all the rest,' he concludes, 'and without prejudice to your power in the Universitie in generall, I submit.' One or two refuse in a provisional way: their consciences are 'not yet satisfied,' or the like. The one and only unqualified submitter is the senior Fellow, Dr. Vivian. At his time of life he doubtless said to himself he could not be expected to go out into the world and start in life again. The Head Cook had, however, submitted as long ago as the preceding August; and later on a Fellow named Edward Farmer (who does not appear before) positively acknowledged himself 'convicted in conscience to submit,' but afterwards refused in a very hedging and submissive tone. The names of non-submitters were sent up to the London 'Committee of Lords and Commons for regulating the University of Oxford.' The New College list contains fifty-three names. The Committee ordered them to be expelled. But between such orders and their execution a considerable interval of time commonly elapsed. On June 6 Warden Stringer, who could not previously be found, is cited 'omnibus viis et modis.' 'On June 7 the Oxford Visitors definitely order seventeen to leave the College or be removed by the soldiery of this garrison.' A further resolution of the London Committee of June 29 deprives the four senior non-submitters.

Notwithstanding the fulness of the Register, it is difficult to give a connected account of the subsequent proceedings. Batches of Fellows who had already given their replies seem to have been had up again from time to time, and usually repeated their answers, but

occasionally varied them. And it is often difficult to say when the expulsions decreed were actually carried out. At New College, Wood tells us that men who refused to submit 'continued in their places by friends and cringing to the Committee.'* The appointment of new Fellows which begins on July 18, 1648, is, however, a sure indication that the expulsions had actually begun. The Commissioners did their work in a spirit of great moderation, possibly, we may conjecture, through the influence of Lord Saye. Only a few of the new Fellows were Winchester men, but all (even when already Bachelors) were required to undergo their years of probation. Some of the intruders came from the more puritanical Cambridge. But as late as October, 1648, obstacles were put in the way of the new Bursars appointed by the Commisioners, and they had to be specially 'authorised to breake open the Bursary and Audit house of New College or any other place of the Colledge aforesaid, where the seales, books, evidences, wrytings or any goods of the Colledge are, or should bee, that they may secure and preserve them.'†

It was not, apparently, till January 25, 1649 (N.S.), that the pretended Warden, Dr. Stringer, who had gone on progress and held Courts for the College, 'contrary to the express order of Parliament,' was dealt with. He was pronounced 'guilty of high contempt and denyale of the authoritie of Parliament,' and George Marshall appointed in his place. But Stringer does not appear to have actually cleared out till the following September. Not unnaturally, the zeal of the Oxford

* Wood, iii. 582. † Register, p. 205.

Visitors in dealing with New College seemed to the London Committee inadequate, and had constantly to be quickened by resolutions of that body. Marshall's appointment, for instance, was their doing.

A batch of seventeen appears to have been expelled on July 7, 1648, and some at least of these were really removed from the College a few days afterwards. The procedure was as follows: 'a Drum with a guard of Musqueteers were sent to every College, where (after a call had been beaten by the drummer) the like order as before, subscribed by the Deputy Governor, was read. The most part obeyed, but some undergoing the brunt were imprisoned, while others absconded for several weeks.'* But no less than sixteen contumacious Fellows and scholars and three chaplains retained their places till June, 1649.†

It was the new Warden's 'importunacy,' if we may trust Wood, which at length secured a clean sweep of the rebellious Fellows. Like other eminent Radicals, he appears to have been fond of tree-felling (we may note by the way), and 'made great havock of the College trees near Stanton St. John in this County and elsewhere, cutting down about 5,000.'‡

The inquisition descended down the College hierarchy till it reached the non-academical officers and servants. The Barber submits with caution: 'So farre as I may, without breach of my oath, I shall humbly submit to this Visitation.' The Butler with equal tact submits 'to the power of King and Parliament.' But the

* Wood, iii. 600.
† Register, p. 195; *cf.* Wood, iii. 621.
‡ Wood, iii. 622.

loyalty of the under-servants exceeds that of their superiors. The Under-butler replies: 'I cannot in conscience submitt myself to this present Vissitation unlesse I should render myself guilty of perjury.' On July 15 the Under-cook now submits with a reservation, perhaps owing to the example of his chief. But the Under-cook's submission seems not to have been accepted; and the Organist, Sexton, Under-butler, Manciple, Porter, Groom and Basket-bearer were all 'outed.' It is curious to find 'the Committee of Lords and Commons for the Reformation of the University of Oxon' solemnly intervening to provide the College with a Butler of sound theological and political principles.

Professor Montagu Burrows has thus summarized the results of the whole work of the Visitors at New College:

> Certainly expelled: Members 50, Servants 7.
> Probably expelled: Members 12.
> Certainly submitted: Members 13, Servants 2.
> Probably submitted: Members 2.

The proportion of submitters to non-submitters (whether we include or exclude the doubtfuls) is decidedly the highest in Oxford.

It is highly probable that some of the newly intruded Wykehamists were not men of the sternest republican or puritanical stuff; and even the intruders gave trouble to the Visitors, apparently taunting one another with crypto-Royalism. In July, 1649,

'Mr. Townsend and Mr. Allanson, Fellowes of New Colledge, complayned to the Visitors, that they were much

injured and scandalized by Dr. Vivian, Fellow of the said Colledge, in reportynge to the Warden of the said Colledge that the said Mr. Townsend and Mr. Allanson had spoken words of dangerous consequence; vizt: they came to him about Candlemas last past, and told him that the Prince and the Scots were now agreed, advising the said Dr. Vivian to go and joyne with them.'

The Visitors, 'being well assured of the good affection of the said Mr. Allanson and Mr. Townsend to the Parliament,' pronounce them 'innocent as to any such pretended words informed by Dr. Vivian.' This Dr. Vivian, it will be remembered, was one of the old lot, who had submitted probably against his conscience; he was eventually deprived by the Warden and Fellows, and their sentence was upheld by the Visitors. The Warden found it difficult to enforce discipline in a College now largely composed of very young Fellows who objected to the doubtless long and dreary puritanical prayers. On August 6, 1650, we read:

'In the cause depending before the visitors of the Universitie betweene the Warden of New Colledge and the Fellowes of the said Colledge: 1st. Whether the Warden had sole power of himselfe to scoure [or score—*i.e.*, deprive of commons for a time] the said Fellowes for their absence from prayers in the said Colledge. It is thought fitt that the said question be not presently determined: but whereas the said Fellowes have made themselves judges in their own cause by taking off the scoure which, for their absence from prayers, was laid upon them by the said Warden: It is ordered and thought fitt that the said scoure shall remaine and continue upon them.'

In still more serious ways it seems that much of the old Wykehamical man was left even in the best Puritans that had been grafted on to the old Wykehamical stock —enough, at least, to produce scandal among the more precise. On December 31, 1651, the Oxford Visitors make a special report to the London Committee.

'In obedience to your Order of December 18th instant, directed to us the Visitors of the Universitie of Oxon touching some Fellowes of Newe Colledge abusing themselves by excessive drinking, to the publique scandall of religion at the last election at Winchester, wee doe humbly certifie: That we accordingly convented soe many of the said Fellowes as wee found upon the place, some being absent, others quite departed from the Universitie, and cannot find the least inckling from any of them concerning the same, who all professe they know nothing of any such disordered carriage, much less of publique scandall, as the order mentions.'*

All the same, this general absence from Oxford about December 25 looks bad. We cannot but suspect that the 'prelatical' habit of keeping Christmas was not quite extinct in the homes from which these men came.

A grave accusation of outrage upon a woman is brought against two chaplains, Sir Dennis and Sir How in 1653†. It is greatly to be feared that the application for leave of absence 'for special service at sea' made and granted to Sir Dennis in the following year was not entirely voluntary.

The curious position assigned by the original statutes to the Jurist Fellows has already been commented on.

* Register, p. 341. † *Ibid.*, p. 361.

Not unnaturally, the assignment of the duties of government now to one body, now to another, led to difficulties. In 1653 the Visitors resolved:

'for that the number of Lawyers have a very great influence into the government of the House, and the Statutes concerning them are so mixed and complex't with the whole body of Statutes, that they cannot (at present) be certified: Wee therefore shall *pro hac vice* nominate the 13 Seniors and Officers for the carryinge on the government of the said Colledge.'*

The two civilians were afterwards restored, and it was ordered that the so-called canonists should really be students of divinity. But it would seem not improbable the visitorial decision permanently affected the government of the College. After this time, though (after the Restoration the number of twenty civilians was nominally kept up), we hear nothing of any governing body except the Warden and thirteen seniors.†

In the register of the Parliamentary Visitors we encounter fresh explicit evidence of the prevalence of the 'corrupt resignation' system which was long peculiarly rampant at New College and at All Souls', though not unknown elsewhere. If we ask why the system should have specially fastened upon these two Colleges, the answer is probably to be found in the comparatively high social position of the members of these two foundations, which caused places upon them to be sought for by people who could afford to pay the retiring Fellow whom he hoped to succeed. A good

* Register, pp. 362, 363. † But see below, p. 185.

proportion of the New College Fellows are described as 'gen. fil.' or 'cler. fil.,' instead of 'pleb. fil.,' even in the sixteenth century, and we find among them many men of excellent family. This phenomenon is again, in part at least, due to the presence of a large number of Founder's kin Fellows. At New College Lord Saye and Sele's younger sons had already begun to live upon the College; and Winchester had become the great school of the gentry of Hampshire and the neighbouring counties. The Visitors ordered that every Fellow on his appointment should take an oath that he would not give, or on his retirement receive, 'any money or money worth by way of gratuity or otherwise,' and every elector that he would not be influenced by any such consideration. This measure was, of course, ineffectual in stamping out the practice; at all events, its effect must have ended with the Restoration. No materials exist for tracing minutely the history of the abuse at New College, the decline and fall of which at All Souls' is much better known.* Warden Traffles, who died in 1703 after only two years of office, is declared by his epitaph in the chapel to have been distinguished by his zeal for purity of election (*electionum castitati prospiciendo*). But only a few years later (1715) Hearn hears that four Fellows of New College, amongst whom is 'Dr. John Ayliffe, who is degraded and expelled the University (tho' not the College), have sold their Fellowships, which is a custom here under pretence of Resignation, and so will go off.' An order of the Visitors requiring the friends of boys admitted to Winchester to enter into a bond 'for the

* See Mr. C. G. Robertson's 'All Souls' College' in this series.

securing of the Colledge from corrupt admission' is deleted in their register.

It is creditable to the Parliamentary commanders in Oxford that, in spite of the fanaticism prevalent in the ranks, their stay in Oxford did so little damage to the place. Doubtless the buildings, including many architectural features which might plausibly have been considered superstitious, were saved by the College loyalty of the Parliamentary leaders. But in one way the military occupation of New College did leave traces of itself behind. It was in the last phase of the war, in August, 1651, that there was a rumour of an attack upon Oxford by Charles II., when the castle was abandoned after £2,000 had been spent upon its fortification.* Wood notices

'the unadvised fortifying of New College thereupon, by the said Colonel (Will. Draper), to the great detriment (1) of the Scholars thereof, who for the present were forced to quit their quarters; (2) of the buildings, by making great holes through the walls of the Cloister and gates, for the scouring the way by Southgate, the passage leading to the College, and the way from Queen's College to their back or non-licet gate, as also the breaking down the wall at the entrance into their privy house, to the end that a passage might be made to the Tower of defence, which in three days' time they had erected of stone in the middle of New College, purposely to clear those parts, if occasion offered; (3) of their neighbours, by plucking down Queen's College wall (near to the said Tower) which parts their walls and New College lane, as also two or three tenements which joined to the west Cloister.'†

* Ballard MSS. (Bodleian), xiv. 12.

† Wood, iii. 646, 647.

It seems that this want of thoroughness on the part of the Puritan party was responsible for at least one perversion to Rome after the Restoration. Walter Harris (F. 1666, as founder's kin) attributed his change of religion to 'the lively memorials of popery in statues and pictures on the gates and in the Chapel of New College.' Wood took him 'to have an unsettled head, or, as we usually say, a worm in his pate.' He practised medicine in College, and conformed again after Titus Oates' plot.

Whatever may have been the feelings of the rest of England, there can be no doubt that in Oxford the reign of the saints was thoroughly unwelcome. It must be remembered that in Colleges less stanch and loyal to the old order in Church and State than New College the submitters were numerous—in some more numerous than the non-submitters. And the intruded scholars were many of them, even when not mere time-servers, very qualified admirers of the new régime. The virtues of the new rulers, the high standard of morals, discipline, and study which the best of them attempted to enforce, were as unpopular as the formality and hypocrisy of which they were commonly accused. Even the learning which the Puritan régime did much to encourage was not particularly appreciated by the great majority. In those days men had to take a side, but most of those who conscientiously or unconscientiously were prepared to acknowledge the authority of Parliament and to do without Bishops were far from being enthusiastically devoted to long Presbyterian sermons and compulsory attendance at innumerable religious exercises—conferences and catechisings in the

Tutor's room and the like; and as the Cromwellian régime became more and more indisputably a *de facto* government, the number of reluctant conformists naturally increased. Nowhere was the news of the approaching Restoration more heartily welcomed than at Oxford Here as elsewhere men did not wait for any formal proclamation of the new order, but reverted to it by a kind of sudden and spontaneous instinct. Six weeks or more before the Restoration a bold man read the Common Prayer in St. Mary Magdalen Church in surplice and hood, 'and that church was always full of young people purposely to hear and see the novelty.' At New College, even in 1654, in the midst of the Parliamentary régime, Evelyn found the chapel 'in its ancient garb, notwithstanding the scrupulosity of the times,' and before the Visitors appointed by the restored Parliament arrived, the College on its own authority seems to have begun turning out the puritanical minority. The choral service was restored in the chapel by December, 1660, in New College and other Colleges with choirs on the foundation, 'to which places the resort of people was infinitely great.' At about the same time a malignant fever, possibly small-pox, raged in the College. Between November 8 and June 4 no less than eight Fellows died. Consequently we are told:

'The restless Fanaticks did continually buzz into the ears of the vulgar "that te Lord's hand fell upon that College for their turning out so many godly men (for the most part before the Visitors sate) and introducing the Common Prayer before it was read in other Colleges." '*

There was another epidemic—this time undoubtedly

* Wood, iii. 708.

small-pox—in 1662. A rationalistic observer, Henry Stubbe, in his work on 'Phlebotomy' declares that none died who were let blood in time.

The Restoration naturally called for a re-settlement of many small points in the interior arrangements of the College, especially in connexion with the Chapel services. In 1663, the Visitor, Bishop George Morley, determined the relative precedence of the founder's kin and of the other Fellows, ordaining that all should rank according to the date of admission to the College, not according to the date of their becoming perpetual Fellows. In 1664 the Bishop held a 'personal visitation,' and issued an elaborate body of injunctions.* All were to attend the full morning and evening prayer. The service was, it would seem, to be sung on all days, but on festivals and during festival seasons it was to be more fully choral, or 'solemn,' 'according to the use of the cathedral churches.' On these days and on vigils there were also to be non-choral prayers in the Chapel at 9 p.m. Surplices were to be worn on Sundays and holidays. The ordinance of the puritanical Bishop Horne for the daily use of the Litany was annulled; but besides matins and evensong, two 'intermediate canonical hours' (tierce and sext) were to be said in the Chapel, except, apparently, on festivals;† but these were to be attended only by Theologians, Canonists, Masters of Art, and (of course) the Chaplains and Clerks. Those who came in after the beginning of

* A copy of these and the last-mentioned injunctions is appended to the copy of Martin's 'Life of Wykeham' in the College library.

† But the ordinance is not clear as to the days on which these services were to be held.

the General Confession on festivals or after the close of the first Psalm on other days were to be counted late.* An injunction of Bishop Cooper for the monthly celebration of Holy Communion and the enforcement of quarterly reception is confirmed. The service was to include an 'exhortation' of half an hour's duration. The injunctions go on nominally to interpret and enforce the founder's statutes on a number of minute points, but practically in many cases to substitute new rules for the old. The wearing of academical dress is prescribed. Long hair is condemned, the maximum length to be determined by the Warden and one of the Deans. Latin is to be spoken. The disputations in theology, philosophy, and law, which had been neglected, were to be kept up or revived. Fellows were to be allowed to keep poor scholars as servitors on giving a caution for the payment of their battels. The Bishop repeats Laud's complaint, that the College failed of late years to rear eminent men. The reason which he gives is probably more to the point than Laud's theory as to the malign effects of Calvin's 'Institutes' prematurely studied. He attributes the fact to the facilities which the College afforded for remaining in the University without taking holy orders, and to the large number of comfortable College livings, which deterred New College men from becoming Chaplains to the King, Bishops, and other magnates—then, and for two centuries later, almost the only road to preferment for men of small means and undistinguished family. To remedy the evil the Bishop insists upon a strict obser-

* Can this mean that the service began with the Lord's Prayer on ordinary days?

vance of the founder's statutes as to the date of ordination, and requires that any dispensation given by the Warden and Fellows shall be at once reported to himself. Notwithstanding this injunction, it would appear that the obligation to take orders was in practice gradually relaxed, so that before the age of modern reform began the College was in the singular position of not having a single 'clerical Fellowship.' Fellows were allowed to draw the augmentation of commons which they received over and above the amounts provided by the Founder, even during their absence while residing in the household of the King as a Lord of Parliament. Here we trace the beginning of that vast system of non-residence which was ultimately to turn a Fellowship from a student's maintenance into a pension for celibate sinecurists. The porter, it appears, had been both remiss and extortionate in the matter of shaving and hair-cutting. His charges are, therefore, fixed, the rate varying from one shilling to ten, according to status or degree. The 'too strict cohabitation' provided by the founder's statutes is relaxed, partly because it had been proved conducive to the spread of infectious diseases; and the building of further rooms for the Fellows is sanctioned.

A year later (1666), during the same episcopate, a controversy arose between the senior and the junior Fellows. The seniors claimed on the basis of some undoubtedly ambiguous language in the founder's statutes* that

* 'Communiter vel per majorem partem seniorum.' The Bishop held that whatever doubt there might previously have been was removed by 33 Henry VIII., cap. 27. The original injunctions are in the possession of the College.

even in matters requiring the consent of the whole College a majority of the seniors was still necessary to authorize the affixing of the seal. The Visitor's decision makes a clean sweep of all reservations and exceptions, and provides that all matters should be decided by a majority of the whole meeting, provided they constituted an absolute majority of the whole body of Fellows. It was only in case of a tie that the majority of seniors were given a casting vote.

It was not till the year 1677 that the introduction of non-foundation members received the sanction of the Visitor. Doubts about its legality had, it would appear, prevented the College from acting upon the Bishop's permission to enlarge its buildings; for the garden quadrangle was intended mainly for the sons of 'noblemen and gentlemen' not on the foundation—*i.e.*, gentlemen commoners, who would, of course, pay handsomely for their accommodation, and, as the Bishop remarked, be afterwards 'useful in acquiring honour and dignities' for the Fellows. In spite of the precedents already mentioned, scrupulous spirits were still found to oppose the lucrative scheme for entering such boarders in greater numbers. And the Bishop had to employ considerable sophistry to justify a decision which, however sensible in itself, is obviously opposed both to the letter and the spirit of the founder's statute.*

The Restoration was a period of great change at Oxford. The Puritan strictness and the Puritan discipline disappeared. Everybody was anxious to go back to the old régime; but the old habits of study, the old discipline, the old simplicity of life, never returned.

* The original injunctions are in the possession of the College.

Debauchery was looked upon as a satisfactory indication of orthodoxy and loyalty. The large influx of young fellows naturally brought with it peculiar difficulties in a College where undergraduates were for many purposes members of the governing body. In 1666 the Bishop of Salisbury advised the Warden to treat his rebellious subjects with a high hand. He had learned with regret, he writes, that 'the fountain whence the Marah and Meribah waters springe' was Wykeham's foundation, 'from whence too many of their rebellious generation proceeded.'

'Cause the ancient discipline to be revived, and executed with all strictness in respect of externals, and without distinctions of persons and degrees. When you shall call a meeting, take a special observance of those who make themselves the Captaines and Leaders: "verba brigosa" and other words and demeanor will be vented from those petulant spirits. Impose (with the Deans' assent) some scholastical exercises, declamations in the Hall at a time appointed for a public meeting. The high spirits will not show their obedience. Your Statutes will prompt the way to putt them to their eight dayes. If they make not a full testimony of theire ready obedience, pronounce their places void in a judicial proceeding, and supply their places with better spirits.'

This account is borne out by an interesting passage from Warden Woodward's biographical notes. À propos of a squabble about the outridership which, it seems, was claimed by two Fellows, Hobbes and Pelham, who both wanted to accompany the Warden on progress, he enters the following pathetic complaint against the irregularities of the Fellows:

'By such cunning tricks as these they impose upon me. And as in this, so in all affairs of the College. Besides, the senior Company will do what they list—as dine in the Exchequer alwaies, keep fires in the Exchequer, read lectures either not at all or at what hours they please. Instead of at 6, Mr. Hobbes would read at 8 or 9. In the winter he would not rise. If they will not be governed by me, I hope that another of more power and authority may govern them.'

The conscientious Warden Woodward was a man of antiquarian tastes who carefully studied the college documents. He is the last Head who took an interest in such matters till they were systematically gone through by the present Warden. He died in 1675, and was succeeded by Dr. Nicholas, of whom we hear nothing but that as Vice-Chancellor he was 'verie active in walking and hauling taverns.' Upon the election of Dr. Henry Beeston in 1679, Wood remarks, 'So government will signifie nothing hereafter.'* Nevertheless we find that in the year after his accession a Fellow named Joseph Pratt was 'expulsus ob noctivagationem.' But the example seems to have been insufficient. 'The next College' (after St. John's, Wood tells us in 1682) 'that wants a thorough reformation is New College, much given to drinking and gaming and vaine brutish pleasure.'† A Warden who was likely to govern was voted 'a turbulent man.' Beeston was a courtier who, according to Wood, 'had run with the times,' having been 'gen-usher to the protectress.' He was, we are told, a member of the Oxford Philosophical Society,

* Wood's 'Life and Times,' ed. Clark, vol. iii., p. 142.

† *Ibid.*, p. 3.

established in 1683 for the improvement of 'real and experimental philosophy,' a sort of affiliated branch of the Royal Society of London. Little more is recorded of him but that he had twenty-three children.

Wood's estimate of New College morals at this period receives an unfortunate confimration from a letter written by the famous author of the 'Characteristicks,' then Lord Ashley, to his father, the second Earl of Shaftesbury, in 1689. The young lord (he was then about eighteen) writes to dissuade his father from sending his younger brother to the College. All the other elements of education, those

'that prepare and fit for company and conversation and y^{t} of y^{e} outward carriadge, Arts both of body and minde that are necessary to admittence among the better rank of people,'

had been sacrificed by sending him to Winchester for the single object of obtaining proficiency in the classics. And the result was that

'all y^{t} w^{ch} is cald good breeding, is not only totally lost in him, but y^{e} end for w^{ch} these advantages have advisedly been neglected, that part of that maine, I should call it, of his Education; for w^{ch} all y^{e} rest have been purposely omitted and so fallne to ruine, this is faild and has come as yet to nothing. The seven Improve^{g} years of his life have been sacrificed at Winchister and all given up for Latten and Greeke, and he is soe far from understanding the first, y^{t} he can neither make nor construe a sentence, besides y^{t} in any other sort of readeing he has no maner of tincture, nor as yo^{r} Lord^{p} saw, can be brought to relish so much as a peece of S^{r} Walt^{r} Ralegh, or o^{r} English Cronicle, a Life in Plutarch, or any such plesant and easie storie.'

There are scarcely any at Winchester, he goes on to say,

'that escape y^e^ Mother vice of Drinking, the Predominant of y^e^ Place, where y^e^ Punishm^t^ of it would be worse then insignificant amongst the Schollers, unless the reformation were made or began at leaste among the reformers; for whilst y^e^ example remayns amongst the superiors, I leave any one to Judge of w^t^ effects the correction of it is likely to prove amongst the youth. . . . But yo^r^ Lord^p^ has heard, I beleive, w^t^ y^e^ soe much esteemd Bish^p^ of Oxford said of theire sister new Colledge; That Palmer was y^e^ only sober man of it: tho for my owne part I think his Lord^p^ might have spar'd his reflections; I believe y^e^ Numbers were little more y^n^ proportionable through most of y^e^ Colledges.'*

We regret to have to add that the one sober Fellow retired from the College that very year. He subsequently became a Fellow of Winchester and Canon of Chichester.

The Restoration introduced the age of comfort. The Fellows began to build themselves new chambers and new common-rooms. The age of learning was succeeded by an age of social life. The centres of this social life were the coffee-houses, where the members of different common-rooms met to read their news-sheets, afterwards their *Spectator*, and to practise the newly-discovered art of conversation. The New College coffee-house was Begg's 'at the corner of Holywell, facing the King's Arms,' frequented also by Wadham and Magdalen Hall. By Antony Wood the coffee-

* This letter, found among the Shaftesbury papers in the Public Record Office, was kindly pointed out to us by the Rev. Dr. Fowler, President of Corpus Christi College. We are indebted to Mr. L. G. W. Legg for a transcript of it. It is dated 1689.

houses are made responsible for 'the decay of sound learning among us.'

The even tenor of College life was interrupted in 1665 by the visit of the Court to Oxford. The Spanish Ambassador was entertained by the Warden in his lodgings from September, 1665, to February, 1666.*

However it be accounted for, it is impossible in turning over the pages of Antony Wood's 'Athenæ Oxonienses' not to notice the extraordinary decline in the literary output of the College. In the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries every other Fellow seems to have produced his folio of theological or legal learning. In the Restoration period we produced little that was solid. The divines were content for the most part with occasional sermons or pamphlets. The lighter spirits turned out innumerable volumes of 'Epigrams,' or occasional verse, Latin or English. Probably no College has produced so many minor poets—so very minor that not more than one or two have found their way into the largest and most indulgent collections of British poets. It may be added that the Founder's provision for two Medical Fellows never became a dead letter, and New College at all times produced a small but continuous succession of cultivated physicians. Among the more serious writers of the period may be mentioned Ralph Bohun (F. 1658), who produced a 'Discourse concerning the origine and properties of Mind' in 1671, and Dr. Robert Sharrock (F. 1651), Rector of Great Horwood and Archdeacon of Winchester, who wrote on 'the propagation and growth of vegetables,' and tried

* *Cf.* Appendix on Customs.

his hand at answering Hobbes. These two gentlemen seem to be our most famous New College philosophers.

There was a lighter side even to the life of Puritan Oxford. Though within the chapel walls Puritanism declined to

> 'let the pealing organ blow,
> To the full-voiced quire below,
> In service high and anthems clear,'

music was the one form of art which it did not condemn. And it was in Puritan New College, though now on the eve of the Restoration (1659), that the saintly Thomas Ken was wont to 'sing his part' in the weekly musical meetings, attended also by Antony Wood, which took place in the College. Most of the party were intruded Fellows, whom the Restoration was shortly to doom to poverty and obscurity. Ken, at present only a junior, was destined to become Bishop of Bath and Wells; to enrich the English Service-book with the two hymns which for a century were almost the only relief from old and new version psalmody; to win the respect of Charles II. by refusing to harbour Nell Gwynn in his palace at Wells; to be among the famous seven who resisted the tyranny of James II., and to end his life as the most revered of non-jurors under William III. These musical meetings are almost the only fact recorded of his College life.

Another of the seven Bishops was a New College man—Turner, Bishop of Ely. One of their judges, it is interesting to note, the only one of the four who had the courage to charge in their favour, was also a Fellow of New College, till ejected by the Parliamentary

Visitors—Richard Holloway. Another New College man would have been on the bench but for a previous act of judicial courage. Sir Edward Herbert (F. 1667) had become Lord Chief Justice of England in 1685, but had just been removed to the Common Pleas bench for refusing to sentence a deserting soldier to death in accordance with so-called martial law. He was nevertheless a great stickler for prerogative, followed his master into exile in 1688, and was consoled with a titular earldom of Portland and lord chancellorship.

It will be remembered that Wykeham's statutes expressly forbade the admission of non-foundationers. At first, it would seem, this prohibition was evaded by allowing gentlemen commoners to reside outside the walls. Thus, we hear that Sir Henry Wotton, the diplomatist immortalized by one of Isaac Walton's charming lives, was a Winchester commoner, and went up to New College, where (Wood says) 'living in the condition of a gent. com. had his chamber in Hart Hall adjoyning and to his chamber-fellow then Richard Baker, his countryman, a knight and a noted writer. But continuing not long, he went to Queen's College.' Charles I. gave him the provostship of Eton as a set-off against many years of unpaid ambassador's salaries. The second Lord Saye and Sele was also a gentleman commoner. William Herbert, who succeeded to the earldom of Pembroke in 1661, and was (according to Clarendon) 'the most universally esteemed and beloved of any man of that age,' is said to have come up to New College at thirteen as a 'nobleman,' as also his brother Philip Herbert, who became Earl of Montgomery and one of the Protector's Council of State.

The following New College worthies of this period may also be mentioned:

William Twisse, D.D. (F. 1598): Vicar of Newton Longueville 1613, but exchanged that living for Newbury in 1620; Prolocutor of the Westminster Assembly; a great anti-Arminian writer; also wrote in defence of the continual obligation of the fourth commandment. 'His plain preaching was good, his solid disputations were accounted the better, and his pious way of living by others (especially the Puritans) the best of all; yet some of the New College men who knew the man well have often said in my hearing that he was always hot-headed and restless' (Wood). Died 1646; buried in Westminster Abbey, but after the Restoration his remains were thrown into a common pit in St. Margaret's Churchyard. It was Twisse who, when a certain converted Jew relapsed, was to have preached at his baptism, and had hastily to substitute a sermon on Jewish perfidy. (See Wood, 'Annals,' sub anno 1613.)

Thomas Ryves, D.C.L. (F. 1598): King's Advocate during the Great Rebellion; 'a thorough-pac'd scholar in all polite learning, was a pure Latinist and master of a smooth stile' (Wood).

John Harris, D.D. (F. 1606): Regius Professor of Greek; 'became so admirable a Grecian and so noted a preacher that Sir Henry Savile used frequently to say that he was second to St. Chrysostome'; Warden of Winchester 1630; took the Covenant, kept the wardenship, and became a member of the Westminster Assembly.

John Reinolds (F. 1602): 'The most noted epigrammatist next to John Owen and Sir John Harrington of his time' (Wood); died 1614; buried in cloisters.

Hugh Robinson (F. 1605): Headmaster of Winchester;

afterwards Archdeacon of Gloucester; 'an excellent linguist, able divine, and very well seen in ancient histories.' He was arrested and imprisoned by the Parliamentarians, but eventually took the Covenant, and became Rector of Hinton, near Winchester; wrote a volume of 'Preces' for Winchester boys, and many school books; died 1655.

John Heath (F. 1607): Poet (Wood, 'Ath. Oxon.,' ii. 168).

Matthew Nicholas (F. 1615): Dean of Bristol 1629; Dean of St. Paul's 1660 (appointed by Charles I.); died 1661.

Alexander Hyde (F. 1617): Consecrated Bishop of Sarum in New College Chapel 1665; died 1667.

Nathaniel Fiennes (F. 1624): Parliamentary Governor of Bristol, which he surrendered to Prince Rupert.

Thomas Master (F. 1624): He helped Lord Herbert of Cherbury in his 'Life of Henry VIII.'; wrote 'Iter Boreale' (a journey to Lincolnshire), published in 1675, and died of 'a malignant fever call'd the camp-disease that raged in Oxford' (Wood) in 1643.

Stephen Charnock: Intruded Fellow 1650, 'and thereby for several years did eat the bread of a worthy loyalist' (Wood); after the Restoration became famous as a Nonconformist preacher and theological writer.

Thomas Flatman (F. 1656): Published a volume of poetry in 1682.

Sir John Trenchard (F. 1665): Whig statesman; Secretary of State 1692; died 1695.

Thomas Manningham (F. 1671): As Chaplain to Queen Anne he distinguished himself by declining 'to whistle devotion through a key-hole' while the Queen was dressing; Dean of Windsor; Bishop of Chichester 1709; died 1722.

Charles Trimnell, D.D. (F. 1683): Bishop of Norwich 1707-8; Bishop of Winchester 1721; died 1723.

Philip Bisse, D.D. (F. 1686): Bishop of St. David's 1710; Bishop of Hereford 1713; died 1721.

CHAPTER VIII

THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

In the history of learning there are backwaters, and from many points of view the eighteenth century is one of them. The ponderous learning of the early seventeenth century gave way to an age of physical science, of popular controversy, of elegant literature. In the first of these departments Cambridge took a prominent part; at Oxford, though there were individual students, physical and mathematical study never passed to any considerable extent into the traditional studies of the place. Little was taught to the ordinary undergraduate except some formal logic and as much classical scholarship as was necessary for Latin verse-making. It was not that the eighteenth century—at least, the first half of it—was not an age of intellectual progress. But the progress went on for the most part outside the Universities. The Universities were affected by the intellectual tendencies of the age, but they contributed little to it. They shared the growing contempt for old-world learning, for serious study, for profound thought, for academic methods, sufficiently to neglect their own proper business, but they had no new ideals

of learning or education to substitute for the old. The changes of the time showed themselves everywhere in the neglect of founders' statutes and founders' intentions, and in the growth of comfortable buildings, common rooms and coffee-houses, where dons could neglect their pupils, talk politics, read the *Spectator* or the *Rambler*, and generally demonstrate to the world that they were not the obsolete pedants that they were taken to be by London wits or deistical philosophers.

It is obvious, from the nature of the case, that a small College consisting entirely of men educated at one school, too well off to breed Grub Street poets and men of letters, not well born or influential enough to make careers for themselves of a higher kind, would be likely to share to the full the tendencies of the age. Of eighteenth-century New College, we can only say that it was very like eighteenth-century Oxford in general, though it appears to have been, so far as our very scanty records show, rather more free than usual from the worst scandals of the time, if we except the practice of 'corrupt resignations.' In literature it continued to produce minor poets, and among others the only New College poet who would be likely to be mentioned in an ordinary history of English literature—William Somerville (founder's kin Fellow 1694) a Staffordshire squire who occasionally interrupted the pursuit of field sports by writing verses about them. He retained his Fellowship till his father's death in 1704. His best-known work, 'The Chace,' was published in 1735, and contains four books of blank verse. Such fame as it possesses seems to be partly due to its having been used as letter-press for sporting pictures. Successive editions

of it have been illustrated by Bewick, Stothard, and Hugh Thomson.

One of the few episodes which enliven the dull annals of eighteenth-century New College is 'the case of Dr. Ayliffe.' Dr. John Ayliffe (F. 1695) was one of the few residents in the University at this time who was a 'civilian' in something more than the nominal sense required for continuing to hold a College Fellowship without taking holy orders. He spent his time as a real student in Oxford, was learned in the learning of his own faculty, and also in the history and antiquities of his own University. Like nearly all the University antiquaries, he possessed a sharp tongue and a quarrelsome temper, failed to adjust himself to his environment, and (like most of them) eventually made his College too hot for him. His career gives one a vivid idea of the troubles which beset a Whig living in a predominantly Tory College, or, rather, a College with a Tory Head, at the beginning of the eighteenth century. From Hearne it appears that he had the indiscretion to talk 'rebellion' to that acrid Jacobite in the Bodleian Library.

The beginning of Ayliffe's troubles shall be told in his own words :

'Dr. John Ayliffe having for some time quitted the Business of a Proctor in the Chancellor's Court of the University of Oxford, on his promotion to the Degree of a Doctor in the Civil Law* (1710), and during the course of his Practice in that Court, having collected and laid together divers materials of good use and service to that

* Yet it would seem he was already a Proctor in 1707. See below, p. 204.

ancient School of Learning, did about November 1712, on the advice of some particular friends, think fit to publish a Specimen with Proposals thereunto annexed for Printing by subscription a Book intituled "The Ancient and Present State of the University of Oxford," containing an Account of Matters as already set forth in the Preface to this his case. But no sooner was the Doctor's Design made known to the world, almost from no other part of his book, besides that of the Title Page, but that it met with the utmost opposition from several Heads of Colleges, thereby put into a Fit of Shivering, and a strange Panic Fear, for the Reasons before remembered in this Preface. And, in short, it so far alarm'd the rest of that University, or to speak more properly, the scabbed Members thereof; that many of the noisy yelpers of that Place immediately began to open and Bark against the Undertaking as villanous and ungrateful; for that the Author intended hereby (according to their foolish sense of things) to disclose and lay open all their charters, and other Academical Privileges, to their avowed Enemies, which (they said) he was by oath obliged to conceal from the Strictures and Examination of the Publick.'*

The alarm caused the subscriptions to fall off; but a sense of 'Publick Charity' compelled the intrepid Doctor to persevere. The dedication to the Whig Lord Somers instead of to the Tory Chancellor of the University, the Duke of Ormond, was deemed a studied insult to the latter. The book appeared on July 14, 'about a fortnight before the late Queen's death, in the time of the worst Ministry that ever surrounded the Throne of any Prince.' The book was solemnly read

* 'The Case of Dr. Ayliffe,' London, 1716, pp. 27, 28.

out at the Ordinance Club in Oxford in short 'lessons,' 'because it was not customary for any of them to read much at a time, if they read at all.' At his speech on laying down office, the Vice-Chancellor solemnly announced that he was commanded by the Chancellor 'to proceed against Dr. Ayliffe for writing and publishing an infamous libel, wherein (as he said) the Doctor had defamed King Charles the first and second, and King James the first and second, Archbishop Laud, the late Ministry, with many other persons.' On November 12, 1714, 'half an hour before the University Court sat, Dr. Ayliffe was summon'd to appear there in two several Actions of Injury and Damage, according to the Phrase of the Civil Law, which our Common Lawyers stile an Action on the Case.' The judge, the Vice-Chancellor, Dr. Bernard Gardiner, was actually one of the prosecutors;* the other was Dr. Thomas Braithwaite, Warden of Winchester. The damages were laid at £100 in each suit. 'The Doctor receiving the Summons of the Court in his common Hall, as he was sitting down to Dinner, had not time allow'd him that Day to prepare himself with Proctor and Stipulator (which the Common Law calls Bail),' and disobeyed the citation for fear of arrest. But the enemy was not to be balked, 'so that he was decreed to be arrested, for what the Assessor was pleas'd to stile Contumacy, although the University Charter expressly allows the Interim of one Day, and the Practice of the Court has indulg'd two Days (at least) from the date of the Citation.' On another day he

* On other occasions this has been held to bar the jurisdiction of the Vice-Chancellor's Court.

appeared by his Proctor, and asked to be admitted to give a 'fidejussory caution' in lieu of the enormous bail of £400 which had been demanded and which Oxford tradesmen were prevented (according to Ayliffe) by threats from giving. The request was refused, 'the Proctor brow-beaten and rejected.' The Proctor gave notice of appeal to the Delegates of Appeals in Congregation; but by the Assessor's command the Registrar ignored the appeal, the Assessor's subservience being accounted for by the fact that he was illegally holding his Fellowship at All Souls with a Professorship of Law, and the Vice-Chancellor was Warden of All Souls. The Sheriff's Bailiff, 'who was no sworn Officer of the University, was sent into the College Chappel to arrest him there, as he shou'd come from Prayers.' But the victim had notice of 'the Plaintiff's godly Project,' and kept away. Then a Bedel was despatched to the College 'on pretence of receiving a Mulct (vulgarly then called a sconce) from a Fellow's hand on the College Buttery-Book.' 'The Vice-Chancellor had that day placed his great Body in the Warden of New College's Dining-room,' and he and the Warden gloated over the scene, while the Bedel went into Hall to arrest Ayliffe. But they do not appear to have been gratified by a sight of the rebellious Whig dragged down the steps of his own College hall, for he managed to escape, and afterwards made a great grievance of the fact that there was no legal arrest, because no actual *manuum injectio.* On a number of technical grounds detailed with much curious learning, Ayliffe proceeded with his appeal; the Senior Proctor, in spite (we are assured) of threatenings from headquarters, accepted

the notice of appeal, and inhibited the further progress of the suit. But a too short time was allowed for the prosecution of the appeal, and on the ground of non-prosecution the Vice-Chancellor proceeded with the suit (while Ayliffe had gone to London to get a prohibition), pronounced Ayliffe contumacious, and, under the statute dealing with defendants evading arrest, deprived him of his degree and banished him from the University. It would be out of place to detail all the illegalities which were committed (according to Ayliffe) in the course of the proceedings. The interlocutory sentence in respect of which the arrest was made was passed by the Assessor sitting alone without the Vice-Chancellor; the statute prescribed only degradation or banishment, not both; the statute dealt only with criminal cases, and not civil suits, etc. Whatever may be thought of these points of law, there can be no doubt of the arbitrariness and substantial injustice of the whole proceeding. At this time the University Court was a grossly inquisitorial engine of tyranny in the hands of the University magnates.

The real object of the sentence of banishment was to make Ayliffe's residence impossible, and so to deprive him of his Fellowship. Dr. Ayliffe was now 'conven'd before the Warden (Dr. Cobb) and Seniority.' There was an elaborate trial in the 'College Audit house.' Fellows and servants were examined as witnesses, and Ayliffe put in an elaborate and highly technical defence. He was charged with the original offence for which he had already been deprived of his degree, together with the fact of that deprivation; with having gone to London to sue for his prohibition in spite of the re-

fusal of the Warden to give him leave of absence (though he had got the leave of two Deans), and, finally, with having threatened to 'pistol' the Warden. The last impeachment is admitted and apologized for. Ayliffe pleads that he uttered the words at 1 a.m. 'after sitting Six or Seven Hours in Company,' and produced a witness to say he was drunk. The Warden and five Fellows decided that he had incurred expulsion, nine Fellows that he had not incurred expulsion, but deserved to be punished. This judgment would by itself indicate that the College was not wholly composed of Jacobites, and it appears that about the year 1715 it boasted ten members of the Whig Constitution Club.

The Warden and his party now hit upon another expedient. 'The malicious and wicked Spirits induc'd a Youth of Winchester College, the next in course to succeed to a Vacancy in New College,' to apply to the Visitor by way of appeal. The Bishop received the appeal, and summoned the Warden and Fellows to appear before him at Chelsea to show cause why they did not remove Dr. Ayliffe from his Fellowship. The Visitor eventually required Ayliffe, as the alternative to expulsion, to make a solemn recantation at Winchester in the presence of the two Wardens and the Posers, in which he was to declare that he had had 'a fair and candid hearing' by the Visitor, to acknowledge his 'justice and lenity,' and to admit that his book contained 'unjust reflections upon several of the present and late Members of the Society,' though he had there acknowledged that in New College, unlike some other Colleges, the majority were not persons of this stamp. This recantation Aycliffe declined to make, and antici-

pated expulsion by resignation. Where and how the poor man lived the rest of his life does not appear, but he died in 1732, having contrived to write a 'Parergon Juris Canonici Anglicani' and other learned works. It would seem that Ayliffe had at an earlier period been in collision with the Vice-Chancellor's Court. In 1707 he was prosecuted in the Vice-Chancellor's Court for 'extortion' as a Proctor in the court, and was deprived of that office. The Delegates of Appeals in Congregation refused to entertain his appeal, but he was restored by the Delegates of Appeals in Convocation.

A curious light is thrown upon the standard of morals and manners prevalent in the College at this period by the following passages from Hearne:

'*June* 7, 1713.—This day Sennight Mr. Thomas Butler's House in Halywell was broke open about Dinner Time, and Twenty Pounds in Money taken away. It appears since that 'twas one Cotton, a Person of a bad Character, Fellow of New College. The said Butler is Keeper of the Cock-Pit, is poor, and had laid up this Money to pay his Rent.*

'*April* 28, 1714.—Last Sunday morning died one Mr. William Williams, M.A., of New College. He was formerly one of the Lay-Chaplains, but being a very illiterate Person (for he could not so much as read Greek) he was denyed Orders two or three times. Upon which when there was a Vacancy, the Warden made him Head-Butler of the College, worth about a Hundred libs. per annum. Which Place hath been sometimes before, I think, enjoyed by Scholars, tho' not by Masters of Arts, as there is a Scholar now (an Under-Graduate, who wears no gown and never intends it more) that is chief Butler of Brasen-nose College.'

* Hearne's 'Diary,' ed. Rannie, N., pp. 185, 335.

As specimens of the better sort of College Fellow in the eighteenth century (a generation later than Ayliffe) we may notice the careers of Joseph Spence and Robert Lowth. The first may be taken to represent the lighter, the latter the heavier, learning of the age. Joseph Spence became a Fellow in 1722. So high was his reputation as a scholar that he was elected to the Professorship of Poetry immediately after taking his M.A. degree. A New College contemporary, Christopher Pitt, poetaster and dilettante,* pronounced him in 1728 'the completest scholar, either in solid or polite learning, for his years, he ever knew. Besides, he is the sweetest-tempered gentleman breathing.' The professorship apparently involved no continuous duties, and he at once took the College living of Birchanger, in Essex (though keeping his Fellowship), where he devoted himself (during occasional intervals of residence) to gardening and literature. But much of his time was occupied in travelling about Europe with various noblemen. An essay on Pope's 'Odyssey' procured him the friendship of that poet. His first introduction to him was on this wise: Spence was then in residence in Oxford. While 'lolling at a coffee-house half asleep and reading something about Prince Eugene and the armies on the Rhine,' an ostler brought him a little scrap of paper with the following words: 'Mr. Pope would be very glad to see Mr. Spence at the Cross Inn just now.' To the inn he repaired, and found the poet in a great state of exhaustion. He had arrived in a chariot of Lord Peterborough's, which only

* He is said to have presented the Posers at his candidature for New College with a complete translation of Lucan's 'Pharsalia.'

held one, at Bagley Wood, where he had been obliged to give it up to a lady whose arm had been broken in a carriage accident, and to walk into Oxford. So much exercise was almost too much for the poet. However, he was persuaded to dine in Spence's rooms, and went on his way refreshed. Spence's *magnum opus*, as it was thought in his day, was 'Polymetis, or an Enquiry concerning the Agreement between the Works of Roman Poets and the Remains of the Ancient Artists,' published as a folio with plates in 1747. It brought him much fame and £1,500. Lord Lincoln presented him with a house at Byfleet in Surrey, and in 1754 he received from Trevor, Bishop of Durham, a fat prebend in that cathedral. Henceforth he divided his time between Durham and Byfleet. He resigned Birchanger for the bigger College living of Horwood. Here he never resided, considering that he compounded for his non-residence by his liberality to the poor of that parish. The Oxford Professorship of Modern History made equally slight demands upon his time. He lived in intimacy with Pope, Thomson, and Shenstone, and his real title to remembrance is his volume of 'Anecdotes,' which is a most important authority for the literary history of his time. It was not published till after his death, but was freely used by Ruffhead and Johnson for their lives of Pope. Spence was a sort of clerical, and far less able, Horace Walpole. In those comfortable days the gift of well-bred amiability, and the Church preferment which it brought with it, enabled a cultivated clergyman to pose, not merely as the critic, but as the Mæcenas of his age as effectually as the possession of a private fortune. To such a man, University,

College, cathedral and parish alike were merely sources of income; still, the common-room which Spence occasionally adorned could not have been wholly given up to uncultivated bibulosity. Though his criticism is sensible, Dr. Johnson was probably not wrong in pronouncing him 'a man whose learning was not very great, and whose mind was not very powerful.'

A scholar of a more serious order was Robert Lowth (son of the well-known commentator, William Lowth), who obtained his Fellowship in 1731. In those days the serious scholar was of all men the least likely to think of long and continuous residence in Oxford, especially at New College, where nothing to speak of was to be made by tuition, and Lowth took the living of Overton in Hampshire in 1735. In 1741 he became Professor of Poetry, and actually lectured—in Latin, of course—on the sacred poetry of the Hebrews. The lectures were published, attained considerable fame in their day, and are not quite forgotten in ours, though scholars will no longer stickle for his view that Hebrew was the language spoken in Paradise. The great road to preferment open to a College Fellow in those days, as well as an important means of education, was a position as chaplain, or tutor, or travelling companion to a nobleman. Lowth was at one time Chaplain to the Embassy at Berlin, at another tutor to the sons of the Duke of Devonshire. Of course, neither Fellowship nor parish was resigned on account of these employments. In 1750, Hoadley, the latitudinarian Bishop of Winchester, made him Archdeacon of that place, to which preferment he soon added the rectory of Woodhay. He was offered an Irish bishopric, but managed to pass

it on to Dr. Leslie and get in exchange that divine's rich Durham prebend and rectory of Sedgefield. In 1766 he became Bishop of St. David's, in 1767 of Oxford, and in 1777 of London. He refused Canterbury in 1783, and died in 1787. Whether as a scholar or a prelate, Lowth is as good a specimen as could be found of the Church of his age. He writes with real feeling both for literature and religion. If his new translation of Isaiah and his English Grammar are inevitably superseded, his life of our founder is a work of real research, and is still deservedly appealed to as an authority for the general history of the time.

In his famous controversy with Warburton over a particular position maintained in his absurd 'Divine Legation of Moses,' Lowth's polished sarcasm and scholarly accuracy contrast favourably with the sledge-hammer style and slip-shod thought of that pretentious controversialist, though it chances that Warburton's view as to the date and character of the Book of Job comes nearer than Lowth's to that generally accepted by modern scholars. As a prelate he distinguished himself by refusing to institute a presentee who had entered into resignation-bonds, and getting a decision of the House of Lords against the legality of that objectionable form of simony. Still more creditable was his refusal to sit above John Wesley at dinner. Wesley speaks of Lowth as in his whole behaviour worthy of a Christian Bishop. It is something to know that Christianity was at least tolerated in the New College common-room of 1729-1750.

In another controversy in which Lowth became involved he figures to less advantage. William of

Wykeham had intended that the wardenship of New College should be a place of much greater dignity and emolument than the wardenship of Winchester. The Warden of New College had, as we have seen, a separate house and establishment of his own, and six horses in his stable, and was in a sense the Visitor of Winchester. The Warden of Winchester had a single room of his own, and two horses wherewith to do his journeys. It never crossed his mind that a Warden of New College would ever desire promotion to Winchester. But it was easier for the Warden of Winchester to increase his emoluments at the expense of his helpless charity-boys and a very small number of Fellows than for the Head of the great and highly organized corporation at Oxford to monopolize the increasing value of the College estates; and so in process of time the Winchester wardenship had come to be much more valuable than the Oxford one. In 1757 we are told the wardenship of Winchester was worth £700 or £800 a year, against his superior's £300—exclusive, no doubt, of the College living or livings commonly held with it. Dr. John Nicholas, who became Warden of New College in 1675, was the first to get himself elected by the Fellows of his own house to the rich preferment at Winchester, and no objection was made by the Bishop. His successor, Dr. Henry Beeston (1679) had no opportunity of such lucrative degradation, and languished all his days in Oxford. His six successors, Richard Traffles (elected Warden of New College in 1701), Thomas Braithwaite (1703), John Cobb (1712), John Dobson (1720), Henry Bigg (1725), and John Coxed (1730), all succeeded in effecting the

coveted transplantation. On Bigg's death in 1757, Dr. Purnell, who had become Warden of New College in 1740, was duly elected, though not (it appears) without opposition, to the vacancy at Winchester. But upon being presented to Hoadley as Visitor, the Bishop disallowed the election, and proceeded, without giving the electors time to make a fresh choice, to appoint by his own authority Christopher Golding, Fellow and Tutor of the College, a 'peaceable and studious academic,' as his literary champion calls him. The College entered upon no litigation, and accepted the Visitor's decision. But there was a war of pamphlets, in which Lowth, who owed his archdeaconry and prebend of Winchester to Hoadley, took part in defence of his patron. The founder had provided that the Warden of Winchester must be a Fellow of Winchester or a Fellow of New College or 'de illis qui aliquando fuerunt in ipso nostro Collegio seu collegio prope Winton et ex causis licitis et honestis recesserunt.'

Undoubtedly, the founder had not contemplated such a contingency as the election of the Warden of New College, but it can hardly be denied that by 'recesserunt' he meant no more than 'resigned their Fellowships.' Exclusions must be explicit, and Lowth seems to testify to the weakness of his case by laying most stress upon a side-issue, the fact that the election was not made in due time, upon which his plea is much stronger, though this objection appears to have been an after-thought. It seems that the real objection to Purnell in the eyes of the latitudinarian Hoadley and his friends was his 'good Churchmanship' or (what was then much the same thing) his Jacobitism. Hoadley's opposition, what-

ever may be thought of his law, put a stop to the undesirable and undignified custom. It may be convenient to notice that the fact of the Winchester wardenship being in the hands of New College has tended to prevent its being used, like the provostship of Eton, as a retirement for the Headmasters, many of whom, indeed, though educated at Winchester, had not been Fellows of New College.

During his Vice-Chancellorship (in 1747) Purnell got into serious trouble through his positive refusal to take the depositions against certain Jacobites accused of raising shouts for King James and creating a riot in the streets. A criminal information was exhibited against him in the Queen's Bench, but the prosecution was eventually abandoned, and he remained Vice-Chancellor till 1750.*

Of Purnell's three successors — Thomas Hayward (1764), John Oglander (1768), and Samuel Gauntlett (1794), as of their eighteenth-century predecessors, nothing can be recorded but the fact that they lived, took livings, became Wardens, died, and were buried at New College or at Winchester. Of Warden Hayward the Order-book of the Warden and Thirteen tells us that a pension of £50 annually was voted to his widow in recognition of his services to the College 'by increasing the revenue and putting the estates on a better establishment.' Gauntlett was made a Canon of St. Paul's by his nephew, Bishop Howley. These men were too obscure even to be made Bishops in the very dullest age of English prelacy, the latter half of the eighteenth century. Doubtless (like Golding) they may have been

* For a full account, see Hulton's *Rixæ Oxonienses*, p. 153.

'peaceable,' less probably they may have been 'studious,' academics. However that may be, we hear little of their quarrels and nothing at all of their studies.

Cox, in his 'Recollections of Oxford' (p. 184), says of Gauntlett, who was elected as a compromise after a contest between le Mesurier and Sissmore:

'On his election to the Wardenship, he assumed the "big-wig" (though of a moderate size), and with his quiet and rather solemn deportment looked, as he stood statue-like in the Chapel, the beau-ideal of a Warden. The only difference at morning and at evening service was that at the latter the statue had a slight glow on its face, which was wanting in the morning.'

It is towards the end of this century that the first continuous record of the proceedings of the Society in College Meeting assembled begins—if, indeed, it can even now be called continuous. A single memorandum pasted on to the binding relates to 1742. The next entry is dated 1744, and several years together pass without anything whatever being recorded. If a society is happy which has no history, New College was happy in those days. The few entries relate chiefly to the regulations for succeeding to College livings and the like. There are just one or two of these which strike one as redolent of the times. In 1743 it was resolved 'that the small brick building erected by Dr. Bridle for his curate at Hardwicke is an useless encumbrance to the living, and Mr. Cooke the Rector was desired to pull down the same.' It is true that Hardwicke with an able-bodied Rector did not require a curate. But happy was the curate of Hardwicke compared with the Warden's curate at Colerne, who till 1835 appears to

have lived in a residence officially described as a 'hovel.' Nor is there much more to satisfy our curiosity if we turn to the Order-book of the ordinary executive of the society, the Warden and Thirteen, which begins in the year 1788. There are some quaint evidences of the conservatism of the College in the matter of names and forms. A Dean of Canon Law and a Preacher at Paul's Cross go on being appointed as long as the ancient constitution of the society remains. In 1791 the dinner-hour, which must have gone all round the clock since the medieval ten or eleven, is fixed at four o'clock, with evening chapel at six instead of five; it is ordered that the manciple and the servants of the kitchen shall leave at five, and return from eight till ten to prepare the supper, which presumably must have become almost unnecessary when the dinner-hour was at five, which was the case as far back in the last century as living memory extends. In 1792 it is ordered that no undergraduate be allowed to exceed the sum of £6 10s. per quarter for battels, in addition to his allowance for commons. In 1795 occurs the first express mention of a (College) examination for a degree —in this case LL.B.* Very occasionally the society votes a considerable contribution to some public or charitable object quite unconnected with itself—£20 to the committee for the relief of the French emigrants in 1796; £10 10s. 'to the Revd. Mr. Lomax, a distress'd Clergyman in the Diocese of Litchfield and

* An interesting indication of the modernness of the usage by which Oxford writes B.C.L. and Cambridge LL.B. They mean, of course, the same thing, though a persistent myth supposes that LL.B. = Baccalaurius utriusque juris (Canon and Civil).

Coventry,' in 1797; £105 to the fund in aid of the loyal Oxford Volunteers in 1807, and in the same year £21 to the Chudleigh fire and '£105 to the Scottish Episcopal Clergy,' the last perhaps owing to the influence of Sydney Smith, who was once incumbent of an Episcopal chapel (which, though 'Episcopal,' entirely disowned the Jacobite Scottish Bishops) at Edinburgh.

This may perhaps be the fittest place to notice the connexion with the society of that famous *Edinburgh* reviewer—one of the few really famous names in literature which New College can boast. The period of his Fellowship falls wholly within the eighteenth century, 1789-1800, though the period of his literary activity belongs to the nineteenth. He resided little; there are, it is believed, no allusions to the College in his life or works, and no traditions remain of his College days, but his accounts as Steward of Junior Common-room are with us unto this day.

This chapter may fitly conclude with a brief allusion to one who, though he lived on into the nineteenth century, belongs by his education, at all events, to the eighteenth century, and not to the 'age of reform.' William Howley was a Fellow from 1783 to 1794. He was afterwards a Canon of Christ Church, Bishop of London (1817), and Archbishop of Canterbury from 1828 to 1848—the third New College man who has sat on the chair of St. Augustine. By intellect and character he was the most considerable personality who had occupied that great position since the death of Archbishop Wake. He was one of the few prelates of his time to whom the old Anglican learning and the old Anglican traditions were not unknown ground, and

he was always treated with marked respect by the Tractarian School. He both baptized and crowned the Sovereign whose name, at New College and elsewhere, will always be associated with the 'age of reform.'

Is it a symptom that the bad old times were passing away that in 1788 the Warden and Thirteen made an order that 'the Beer Butler shall battel no more strong beer in the Buttery except that stock which shall now be in the Cellar'? But we fancy we have seen 'treble X' (perhaps only comparatively strong) in New College Hall.

The following additional eighteenth-century names deserve a brief mention:

George Lavington (F. 1707): Rector of Heyford Warren; Bishop of Exeter 1746; died 1762.

Edmund Marten (F. 1706): Dean of Worcester.

Thomas Cheyney (F. 1713): Dean of Lincoln; Dean of Winchester.

Henry Bathurst, D.C.L. (F. 1761): Rector of Witchingham; Bishop of Norwich 1805; died 1837.

Martin Wall, M.D. (F. 1763): Litchfield Professor of Clinical Medicine at Oxford; a friend of Johnson, described by Boswell as a 'learned, ingenious, and pleasing gentleman'; died 1824.

Hon. Charles Bragge (F. 1772); afterwards Bragge-Bathurst, M.P.: a prominent politician; Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster 1812-23.

Robert Holmes (F. 1769): Rector of Stanton St. John; Canon of Christ Church; Dean of Winchester 1804; died 1805; Professor of Poetry; poet and scholar; he collated

the MSS. of the LXX. in seventy-three MS. volumes, and published Old Testament commentaries.

George Isaac Huntingford, D.D. (F. 1766): Warden of Winchester 1789; Bishop of Gloucester 1802; Bishop of Hereford 1815; died 1832.

Christopher Butson (F. 1770): Bishop of Clonfert 1804.

George Chandler (F. 1780): Dean of Chichester; one of the University volunteers in 1797-98.

Charles Abbot (F. 1781): Headmaster of Bedford School 1867; known as a botanist and author of 'Flora Bedfordiensis.'

Thomas Russell (F. 1782): Author of 'Sonnets and Miscellanies,' edited by Archbishop Howley in 1782.

Benjamin Bathurst (F. 1799): Son of the Bishop of Norwich; diplomatist; Envoy Extraordinary to Vienna 1809, in which year he mysteriously disappeared while travelling with despatches in Prussia, supposed to have been murdered by French soldiers.

Nineteenth Century.

Christopher Lipscomb, D.D. (F. 1802): First Bishop of Jamaica, 1824.

Sir William Erle (F. 1813): Lord Chief Justice of the Common Pleas 1859-1866; died 1880. He left a collection of coins to Winchester College.

Walter Shirley (F. 1817): Bishop of Sodor and Man 1846; died 1847.

George Markham Giffard (F. 1834): Vice-Chancellor of England 1868; Lord Justice 1868; died 1870.

CHAPTER IX

THE AGE OF REFORM

THE age of reform may appropriately be associated with the wardenship of Nicholas Shuttleworth, whose name is best remembered for the part he took in the controversy aroused by the Tractarian Movement. He was the son of a Lancashire clergyman, entered Winchester in 1796, proceeded to New College in 1800, and was admitted Fellow in 1802. Some of his poetry, written at Winchester, has been preserved, and appeared in the *Gentleman's Magazine* in 1861. One of these pieces, dated 1800, is addressed to Learning, and closes with a wish which was to be fulfilled forty years later:

> 'Oh! make me, Sphere-descended Queen,
> A Bishop—or, at least, a Dean.'

Shuttleworth also obtained the Chancellor's prize for Latin verse; the subject of his poem was 'Byzantium.' He remained a Fellow of New College till 1822, when he was unanimously elected Warden in succession to Gauntlett. The influence which Shuttleworth possessed

in Oxford was considerable. Archbishop Tait, who himself, as an undergraduate, brought up to Oxford an introduction to the Warden of New College, says:

'No person of any eminence ever came to Oxford without dining with Shuttleworth, and from his intimate relations with Holland House, having been tutor to General Fox, Lord Holland's son, his acquaintance was extensive with all the intellectual lights of the day. The invitations to his house were, therefore, of the highest interest to an undergraduate.'*

Shuttleworth's influence was also strongly exerted in Evangelical circles, while in politics he was a Whig. His 'Sermons on Some of the Leading Principles of Christianity,' and his 'Translation of the Apostolic Epistles,' both written during his wardenship, passed through several editions, and his tract, 'Not Tradition, but Scripture,' was very popular among opponents of the Oxford Movement, and was admitted by Newman to be 'specious, and perhaps mischievous' (Newman's 'Letters,' ii. 261). In 1840 Lord Melbourne appointed him Bishop of Chichester; but he held the office for less than two years, dying on January 7, 1842. The Tractarian party held him in such awe as a controversialist that his death, just as he was about to deliver a charge to his clergy, and that of the Bishop of Meath in precisely similar circumstances, seemed to Dr. Pusey to be 'a token of God's presence in the Church of England.'† He was an accomplished scholar, and his theological

* 'Life,' by Davidson and Benham, i. 40.
† 'Life of Pusey,' ii. 294.

work continued to find an appreciative audience long after his death.*

Warden Shuttleworth was, according to tradition, directly responsible for the first step in the series of changes—the renunciation by the College of its privilege of taking degrees without applying to Convocation for a 'grace.'

When, at the beginning of the nineteenth century, Honour Schools were instituted by the University, the exclusion of New College men from University examinations became of serious injury to the College. An effort was made to maintain a high standard in the College examination for the B.A. degree; but it soon became clear that the exceptional position of the College was adverse to its welfare. It is traditionally recorded that Warden Shuttleworth, by increasing the severity of the internal examinations, forced the undergraduate members to petition the College to allow them to be examined by the University. The privilege was, in spite of the opposition of the senior Fellows, finally renounced at a College meeting held on November 12, 1834. The right 'to the assumption or taking of degrees in the Convoca-

* An anecdote of Warden Shuttleworth may be worth recording. When the late R. D. Hampden was being tried by the Hebdomadal Council on a charge of heresy arising out of his Bampton Lecture of 1832, he himself, as Principal of St. Mary Hall, attended the meeting of the Council. Dean Gaisford was presiding when the culprit entered the room to take his seat among the judges, and a painful silence ensued, in the course of which Gaisford, to relieve the nervous tension of the moment, rose and stirred the fire. Shuttleworth looked across to Hampden, and asked: 'Will you go on now, Hampden, or will you wait till it burns up?' Shuttleworth is also credited with having dated a letter, 'Eve of Washing Day,' in answer to a High Church correspondent who had written to him on the eve of a saint's day, and had adopted this method of indicating the date.

tion House of the University without having previously performed the chief public examination' was absolutely relinquished; but it was specially provided that this should be done without prejudice to 'our undoubted right, secured to us by our Founder, of taking all and every the degrees or degree to be granted in the said University, without supplicating in any way, or under any form, the aforesaid House of Congregation for the same.' There is, thus, one relic of the custom still existing: when a Fellow of New College takes any degree, his name is omitted from the list of supplicants.

Four years later further evidences of the desire for reform appear in the records of the College. For many years no exception had been taken to the admission of a probationer Fellow to the status of an actual Fellow on the expiry of his two years of probation. In 1838 Warden Shuttleworth opposed an admission on the ground of 'systematic neglect of his studies' by the probationer in question. A majority of the Fellows advocated leniency, and while the matter was being discussed two decisions of some importance were given by the Visitor—that the issue depended upon 'present attainment, and not upon presumptive improvement' in the future, and that the Warden possessed a veto upon the admission of a Fellow. Admission was accordingly refused.

Even before the accession of Shuttleworth, a cry for reform had been raised within the walls of New College itself. While he was still an undergraduate Fellow, we are told, Augustus Hare caused grave offence by writing a pamphlet against the exemption of New College men from the University examinations, and when he sub-

sequently became a Poser at Winchester, he ventured on the audacious step of protesting against the claim of the founder's kin to admission to Winchester as a matter of course. The matter went before the Visitor (sitting with Mr. Justice Patteson and Dr. Lushington as assessors), who, after hearing counsel (Mr.—subsequently Lord Chief Justice—Erle appearing for the bold Poser), decided in favour of the established system. The petitioner had based his case not upon the tolerably certain fact that the pedigrees of all modern claimants to kinship with the founder were fictitious, but upon the extremely precarious contention that 'consanguinity' (whether the appeal be made to the Canon or to the Civil Law) is exhausted, at least after the tenth generation. This gallant college reformer settled down to the very small and remote College living of Alton Barnes, and died at an early age in 1834. He is still remembered on account of his joint authorship with his better-known younger brother, Archdeacon Julius Hare, of the brilliant and once-popular volume of criticism and *pensées* known as 'Guesses at Truth.' As an undergraduate, he is said to have founded one of the earliest College literary or debating societies, known as the 'Attic Society'; and a perhaps more doubtful legend records that he took part in a celebrated hoax—a breakfast party in which an audacious undergraduate successfully impersonated the famous Madame de Stael in the presence of the Vice-Chancellor and several Heads of Houses who had been asked to meet the distinguished foreigner.*

* See article in the Dict. Nat. Biog., and Hare's 'Memorials of a Quiet Life.' A printed copy of this case before the Visitor is in the library.

On Shuttleworth's promotion, the College elected David Williams, late Headmaster of Winchester, as his successor (1840). The twenty years* during which Warden Williams held office were rendered memorable by the first University Commission, which was appointed in 1850. To the request of the Commissioners for information regarding the condition of the College, the Warden, with the consent of the Fellows, replied that

'it is to the Visitor alone, the Bishop of Winchester, whose exclusive authority as Visitor, derived from the special appointment of William of Wykeham, the Founder of New College, is recognised by the law of the land, that the Warden and Fellows could consistently with their duty supply the information and the documents required.'

Copies of the statutes were therefore obtained from the British Museum, and the Commissioners, in their report, suggested several important changes. They proposed to release the College from the necessity of taking 'the long and formidable oaths enjoined by the Founder,' and of observing the minute rules of the original statutes; and they urged that the Fellows should no longer be obliged to take Holy Orders,† and that the clause should be abolished which compelled

* Immediately after the election of Warden Williams, the College became involved in a lawsuit concerning the tithes of Hornchurch, and lost its case. The Warden contributed £500 to defray the legal expenses.

† The Commissioners record that Medical Fellows were already free from this obligation; but, in point of fact, it had long ceased to be compulsory for Fellows to take Holy Orders. Of the fifty senior Fellows of New College in 1813, sixteen were laymen; in 1823, fifteen; in 1833, twenty; in 1843, sixteen. Tutors, however, as in other Oxford Colleges, were no doubt invariably in Orders.

a certain number of the Fellows to proceed to degrees in Civil Law, Medicine, or Theology. They strongly objected to the suggestion 'of applying to the common use of the College all its revenues beyond the statutable stipends and emoluments of its members.' On the problems raised by the connexion with Winchester, and the rights of founder's kin, less revolutionary measures were proposed. While considering that 'the course which would most effectually promote the honour of New College would doubtless be to throw open its Fellowships and scholarships to general competition,' they did not recommend so sweeping a change. They wrote:

'We think that New College may be greatly raised if the Fellowships shall be divided into two classes, the former consisting of graduates who shall be Fellows in the strict sense, and be elected out of all who have been educated in Winchester College; the latter of undergraduate Fellows taking no part in the government of the College, and corresponding to the scholars of other colleges, to hold their Fellowships for five years only, and to be elected, after competition, out of the boys in Winchester College, whether on the foundation or not.'

The restriction to Winchester men was thus proposed alike for Fellowships and scholarships, the only change being that commoners of Winchester were to be eligible. In these circumstances the Commissioners were of opinion that founder's kin, not being at Winchester, should be allowed to compete, as it would be 'a resource rather than an impediment' to render eligible 'any class of persons whatever besides those educated at Winchester.' They suggested that there

should be thirty Fellowships* and forty scholarships, in addition to a Professor Fellowship to be created. 'It is very desirable,' they added, 'that New College should open its gates to as many commoners as it can accommodate.' Such were the leading recommendations in the report presented to Parliament in 1852.

The Commissioners' report is dated April 27. At a College meeting held on June 16, it was resolved to show fight, and the senior Fellows were empowered 'to show the statutes to competent advisers upon the question how best to meet the Oxford University Commission, and their charges against our body in particular.' By way of meeting the charges, the College obtained the Visitor's consent to such changes as might be consistent with the statutes. A visitation was held in December, 1852, and it was decided that the College should receive commoners. Winchester College, about the same time, agreed to abandon its system of nominations, and to throw its scholarships open to competition. Meanwhile, the Commission, which had in the first place been appointed merely to report, had received executive powers from Parliament, and the Commissioners, declining to be satisfied with the proposals of the College, now determined, not merely to found professorships, but to throw open to unrestricted competition twenty scholarships, and to open the wardenship to other than Fellows or ex-Fellows. On April 29, 1856, the

* The value of a Fellowship varied considerably according to the number of leases which fell in each year. About 1826 it was only (approximately) £100, and, although the value increased, the average remained, about 1860, considerably under £200. In addition to the money value, there were also certain allowances for rooms, dinner, etc. Warden Gauntlett's good management is said to have greatly increased the income.

College unanimously condemned these proposals. But it was now becoming clear that the changes were inevitable, and a compromise was attempted. The College offered to open scholarships and Fellowships to Winchester commoners, and Fellowships to Wykehamists educated elsewhere than at New College, and they opened the College to commoners,* the first of whom entered in Michaelmas term, 1854. But the Commissioners were still dissatisfied, and after much negotiation they eventually made ordinances enforcing their proposals. Thirty Fellowships† and thirty scholarships were substituted for the original seventy. Fifteen Fellowships were thrown open to competition, and fifteen were restricted to members of Winchester or New College. All scholarships were, in the first instance, open only to members of Winchester (whether on the foundation or not); but if there should be any scholarship for which no candidate was found qualified, it was to be 'thrown open for that turn to general competition.' The first open scholar of the College, Mr. (now Canon) Spooner, was elected under this clause in October, 1862. The wardenship was thrown open, and the College was empowered to dispense with the obligation imposed upon Fellows of taking Holy Orders, in cases where it seemed advisable to do so. The Commissioners also charged a payment of £300 to

* The College had been in the habit of taking a few gentleman-commoners (p. 186). One of the more distinguished of nineteenth-century gentleman-commoners was John Thomas Freeman-Mitford, second Baron and first Earl Redesdale (B.A. 1825), who became Chairman of Committees of the House of Lords.

† It was intended that these should ultimately be increased to forty.

each of the two Savilian professors of Astronomy and Geometry of the College upon the revenues. It is understood that these chairs were selected because of the clause in the original statutes, which provided for the study of astronomy. About the same time the College, with the consent of the Visitor, reduced the number of chaplaincies to three, and established not less than eight choral scholarships, to be held by members of the University. Some Bible clerkships, which had been held by undergraduates, were abolished.

The experiment of choral scholarships did not prove a success—at all events, in Responsions—and they were abolished in 1866. It is recorded that the choral scholars were killed by an epigram attributed to one of the Fellows:

'Nec cantare pares, nec respondere parati.'

While these changes were coming into operation, the energies of the College were further occupied by the restoration of the hall, described in another chapter. The project had for some years been under discussion, but the credit of taking the first active steps belongs to the junior common-room. To meet a heavy debt, the subscription to the common-room had been raised, and it had not been reduced when the debt was paid off. The result was that in 1857 the junior common-room, after reducing its annual subscription from seven guineas to four pounds, found that it possessed the sum of £1,000 beyond all possible requirements. This sum it offered to the College as a contribution towards the renovation of the hall, on condition that the College should contribute £1,000 within four years. The offer

From a photograph by the] [*Oxford Camera Club*

THE HALL AND CHAPEL FROM THE NEW BUILDINGS

was at first declined, but was accepted in 1859, and the Warden presented the first instalment of £250.

Warden Williams did not long survive the ancient constitution of the College, the changes in which constitute the main interest of his tenure of office. On March 22, 1860, the last Winchester Scholar was admitted, on the expiry of his two years of probation, to the status of an actual Fellow, and on the evening of the same day the Warden died. At the date of his death no Fellow or open scholar had been elected under the new ordinances. His successor was the present Warden, the Rev. J. E. Sewell, who had taken a large share in reconciling the College to the changes made by the Commission. When he was elected to the headship he had already been a member of William of Wykeham's foundation for nearly forty years (having entered Winchester in 1821, and New College in 1827), and he had held every position which a Fellow may be called upon to fill. An equal number of years have elapsed since he became Warden, and during those years the College has been transformed from a small and close corporation into the largest college but one in Oxford.

The early years of Warden Sewell's reign saw the logical completion of the changes which the Commission had inaugurated. The College quickly adapted itself to the new circumstances, and as early as 1861 increased the severity of the matriculation examination with a view to accepting as commoners none but men qualified to read for an honour school. In the following year a resolution was passed to this effect. In 1866 the open scholarships were created by the suspension of

Fellowships, and three years later the tenure of a Fellowship was made compatible with marriage in the case of resident Fellows engaged in the tutorial work of the College. In this important matter New College was the first college in Oxford to take action, and it also led the way in obtaining permission to elect tutorial Fellows without examination. Some years earlier, Mr. C. W. Lawrence (F. 1840), Steward of the College, had been foremost in obtaining the first College Estates Act, which gave the College power, within certain limits, to dispose of landed property by exchange or sale, as occasion offered.

In the year 1868 the number of commoners had increased to thirty, and the increase was accompanied by an outburst of fresh energy among the undergraduates. A New College eight has been put on the river every year since 1869, while the literary enthusiasm of the College found vent in the foundation of the Shakespeare Society, and in 1868 of the Essay Society. These societies have maintained a continuous and active existence up to the present day. A Discussion Society, founded about 1876, was, after being dormant for some years, revived in 1900 in the form of a College Debating Society.

The College may claim to have taken, in conjunction with Balliol, the first steps in that development of intercollegiate teaching which has resulted in opening nearly all honour lectures to all members of the University. It originated in an arrangement between Balliol and New College, suggested by the late Master of Balliol, and carried out in 1868. The growth in the membership of the College necessitated the erection of the new

building, facing Holywell Street, between 1872 and 1898, mentioned in another chapter. The restoration of the chapel, to which also we have referred in another connection, was intended to commemorate the five hundredth anniversary of the College in 1879.

Later changes in the College are connected with the proceedings of the second University Commission, and it is now governed by the statutes issued by them in 1881. The College had already begun to desire further change, and there had been prepared by 1877 a draft constitution embodying many of the principles afterwards adopted in the new statutes. These statutes contemplate the existence of thirty-six Fellowships, of which five are annexed to the Savilian Professorships of Geometry and Astronomy, and to the Wykeham Professorships of Logic, Physics, and Ancient History. The revenues of the College, up to the present, have not admitted of the foundation of the chair of Ancient History, or of the establishment of more than twenty-three ordinary and tutorial Fellowships. Ordinary Fellowships are still divided into Winchester and open Fellowships (the former being restricted to members of Winchester or of New College); they are tenable only for seven years, and are not vacated by marriage. Six Winchester and four open scholarships are offered for competition every year. The total number of undergraduates increased from 30 in 1868 to 150 in 1879, and remains permanently at about 200.

The policy of the College during the years when these great changes were being effected was largely guided by the Rev. E. C. Wickham, now Dean of Lincoln, to whom belongs the chief credit for the

speedy adaptation of the College to its new constitution and for the introduction of a really efficient system of college tuition. To Dean Wickham and to the late Bursar, Mr. Alfred Robinson (not to speak of any present member of our body) the College owes much of the success that has justified the great changes that have been made in the founder's statutes. Mr. Wickham, as a Winchester scholar, represented the old foundation, while Mr. Robinson, who was elected as an open Fellow in 1865, belonged distinctively to the new era. He occupied the position of Senior Bursar from 1875 to his death in 1895. The College minute adopted at the first stated general meeting held after his death bears witness to his 'most valuable services to the College, no less by his generosity, tact, and kindliness, than by his great financial ability, his sound judgment, and his experience.'

Among living distinguished *alumni* we must be content—omitting all reference to resident Fellows—with a bare mention of our four honorary Fellows: Dr. Wickham, Dean of Lincoln; Mr. W. J. Courthope, C.B., First Civil Service Commissioner, and late Professor of Poetry at Oxford; Sir Edward Wingfield, K.C.B., formerly Under Secretary of State for the Colonies; Dr. Fearon, late Headmaster of Winchester; and Lord Milner, K.C.B., G.C.M.G., Governor of the Orange River Colony and the Transvaal, and High Commissioner for South Africa, who is still an actual Fellow of the College. But on the present position and prospects of the College we prefer to say little. We have endeavoured to make this little work a history, and not an advertisement. New College has changed

more rapidly and completely, perhaps, than any other college. Few even among the survivors of its *ancien régime* will, we believe, seriously doubt that it has changed on the whole for the better. Yet, happily, it has not broken abruptly or completely with its ancient traditions. The connection with Winchester remains in a less exclusive and more healthful form; and so long as the scholars of Winchester retain their peculiar organization and their old collegiate life their presence will by itself impart a distinctive and characteristic tone to the life of Winchester College in Oxford. And in other ways than that, we trust, it is not fanciful in us to regard it as in some sense the special mission of our foundation to show that it is possible for an Oxford college to combine success, modernity, and efficiency with a reverence for all that is best in the traditions of that past in which, amid all its transformations, it so visibly and conspicuously has its roots. In an ampler sense, perhaps, than the founder himself would have given to his words, we may hope that the College works and will work 'Ad dei laudem et gloriam, divinique cultus ac scientiarum augmentum studiique scholastici profectum . . . ac robur incommutabilis firmitatis.'

APPENDICES

A.—LIST OF WARDENS

1377. Richard Toneworth.
1379. Nicholas de Wykeham.
1389. Thomas Cranley, Archbishop of Dublin 1397.
1396. Richard Malford.
1403. John Bowke.
1429. William Estcourt.
1435. Nicholas Ossulbury.
1453-54. Thomas Chandler, Dean of the Chapel Royal and of Hereford 1481.
1475. Walter Hyll.
1494. William Porter.
1520. John Rede.
1521. John Young, Dean of Chichester, Bishop of Callipolis.
1526. John London.
1542. Henry Cole.
1551. Ralph Skinner.
1553. Thomas White.
1573. Martin Colepepper, Dean of Chichester 1577.
1599. George Ryves.

1613. Arthur Lake, Bishop of Bath and Wells 1616.
1617. Robert Pinke.
1647. Henry Stringer.
1648. George Marshall.
1658. Michael Woodward.
1675. John Nicholas.
1679. Henry Beeston.
1701. Richard Traffles.
1703. Thomas Braithwaite.
1712. John Cobb.
1720. John Dobson.
1724. Henry Bigg.
1729. John Coxed.
1740. John Turnell.
1764. Thomas Hayward.
1768. John Oglander.
1794. Samuel Gauntlett.
1822. Philip Nicholas Shuttleworth, Bishop of Chichester 1840.
1840. David Williams.
1860. James Edwards Sewell.

B.—LIST OF PORTRAITS IN THE HALL

The Founder.
Archbishop Chichele.
William of Waynflete, Bishop of Winchester.
Archbishop Warham. [A copy of Holbein's original —*i.e.*, either the picture in the Louvre or the one at Lambeth.]
Arthur Lake, Bishop of Bath and Wells. [Greenbury.]
Thomas Ken, Bishop of Bath and Wells.
Francis Turner, Bishop of Ely.

Philip Bisse, Bishop of Hereford.
Charles Trimnel, Bishop of Winchester.
Robert Lowth, Bishop of London.
Christopher Lipscomb, first Bishop of Jamaica.
George Isaac Huntingford, Bishop of Hereford.
Henry Bathurst, Bishop of Norwich.
Nicholas Shuttleworth, Bishop of Chichester.
Sidney Smith.
Archbishop Howley.
Sir William Erle.
Dr. Martin Wall.
John Duncan (F. 1789) } Benefactors of the Uni-
Philip Duncan (F. 1792) } versity.
Warden Sewell. [By Herkomer.]
Alfred Robinson. [By Herkomer.]
James Joseph Sylvester, Savilian Professor of Geometry 1883-1897. [By Emslie.]

C.—PRINCIPAL PICTURES IN THE WARDEN'S LODGINGS

William of Wykeham. [A painting on panel, probably of the sixteenth century. Presented to the College by a sister of Warden Stringer, *c.* 1660.]
William of Wykeham } Left by Warden Ryves.
William of Waynflete }
Abraham and Melchisedec.
Our Lord bearing His Cross. Left by Warden Ryves.
Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester (?).
King Henry VIII.
Prince Henry of Wales.
Sir William Petre.
Robert Sidney, Earl of Leicester.

Archbishop Bancroft.
Head of our Lord.
Warden Dobson.
Bishop Jewell.
Bishop Ken.
Warden Pinke.
Warden Bigg.
Warden Nicholas.
A Madonna.
Warden Beeston (?).
Earl of Dorset, ob. 1608.
Bishop Lowth.
Warden Shuttleworth.
Philip Bury Duncan.
Rev. Charles Parrott.
Robert Wetherell, F. 1784.

D.—THE COLLEGE PLATE

The omission of New College from the list of Oxford Colleges which gave their plate for the King's service in the Civil War has given rise to an impression that the College did not carry its loyalty to this extent. But documents preserved in the Warden's custody are conclusive on this point. Almost all the plate belonging to the College was given, freely and unconditionally, for the royal cause. Warden Woodward, in his memorandum, from which we derive our knowledge of the facts, considers the evidence only too satisfactory, 'for,' he writes, 'at this time [1662] the College hath it not.' A list of the plate as it existed in 1635 enables us to estimate the loss to the College. The Bursars record that they had in that year two gilt flagons, two chalices, and two silver plates, all used for the Communion; seven bowls, goblets, or beakers;

five salts; three tankards; and three Indian nuts. The Communion plate and the Indian nuts were excepted from the gift to King Charles.

The College, therefore, possesses little plate of any interest, except the founder's pastoral staff, and some fifteenth-century cups and a salt of the same period preserved in the Warden's lodgings. The crozier is made of iron overlaid with silver gilt and enamel, and is an example of very elaborate Gothic tabernacle-work. It was thus described in the catalogue of the South Kensington Exhibition in 1862:

'The stem has two ridged circular bosses, and is covered with oblong plaques of silver repoussé, with a pattern of a stem and leaves, originally covered alternately with a green and blue translucent enamel, of which only traces now remain. The head is of Gothic architectural design, octagonal in plan, ornamented by a series of statuettes of saints under canopies; above these is a battlemented projection resting on brackets, with four winged angels and lilies (?) sustaining a series of pinnacles, with niches occupied by statuettes and filled in with backgrounds of blue and green enamel. The finials are surmounted with an ornament of lapis enamel; above these rises another battlemented projection or gallery, supporting a small gable-ended structure, in front of which have been statuettes of angels, only one of which, holding a musical instrument, remains. The curve of the crozier is richly crocketed, and has on both sides a series of translucent enamels representing angels playing on various musical instruments. A portion of the work within the curve of the crozier has been lost; a kneeling statuette of the Bishop remains, as if praying before a shrine, above which is a small figure of the Saviour, and an angel bearing a scroll. The curve of the crozier is sustained by a winged

angel resting on a bracket formed of a bearded head. . . . The crozier resembles a pastoral staff, of work almost equally skilful and artistic, preserved in the treasury of the Cathedral of Cologne. . . . The form of these pastoral staves is wholly symbolical, the crooked head indicating the pastoral office—the gathering the faithful together. The centre is the emblem of royal power ; the sharp point, the weapon of judgment. Length 6 ft. 9 in. ; diameter of head 8 in.'

The founder himself bequeathed the crozier to the College. After the Reformation it was allowed to fall into decay, and the constituent pieces were put together in 1753. It was preserved in a recess in the north side of the east end of the chapel, and it has been protected by a glass covering since 1843. A facsimile of it was made for Bishop Harold Browne, and remains in the possession of the Bishops of Winchester. Other relics of the founder, including a letter in his handwriting, portions of his ring, gloves, and sandals, and portions of his mitre, are preserved in the Warden's lodgings.

There is also preserved in the Warden's lodgings a horn of the unicorn or narwhal, which was presented by William Porte (*cf.* p. 67) for the purpose of carrying a cross in processions. In Elizabeth's time the Earl of Leicester requested the College to give him this horn, which was believed to be an antidote to poison. The College refused, on the ground that it is 'a precious jewel of our founder,' but promised to send him a small piece of the horn.

The plate in the Warden's lodgings includes a silver-gilt standing cup and cover (*c.* 1480), a cocoanut cup in silver-gilt adorned with figures of angels, and bearing the inscription : *Benedicta Maria, gracia plena dominus tecum* (*c.* 1450) ; a similar cup, of slightly earlier date, ornamented so as to represent a tree inclosed by a palisade fence ; and a silver-

gilt salt, shaped like an hour-glass and richly decorated, which bears the inscription from Psalm civ., 'Super WA montes TER stabant HIL aque M,' a pun on the name of the donor, Walter Hill. In this connection may also be mentioned a bowl of ancient Chinese porcelain, with fifteenth-century English mounts, one of the oldest examples of Oriental porcelain now extant.

The College, the senior common-room, and the junior common-room, possess a considerable amount of plate, dating from 1660 onwards. It consists mainly of tankards, cups, and table silver. The most interesting piece is a very handsome Grace cup, which was presented by the Spanish Ambassador (*cf.* p. 249) as a memento of his residence in New College. The Communion plate includes two flagons presented in 1602 by Warden Ryves, a small alms dish given by Warden Pinke in 1642, and a larger one given by Warden Nicholas in 1666, two chalices and two patens, which bear no date, but are probably those mentioned in the inventory of 1635 (*supra*).

E.—BENEFACTIONS

John Buckingham, Bishop of Lincoln: Appropriation of Adderbury (property of the see), 1388.

Thomas Bekynton, LL.D., Bishop of Bath and Wells, gave the Manor of Stepingley (seized by Henry VIII., in return for which Queen Mary gave the rectory and vicarage of Marshfield; see above, p. 92). Bekynton also persuaded Henry VI., after the dissolution of the alien priories, to give to the College the manors of Newton Longueville, Great Horwood, Whaddon, Akely, West Hanney, and Witchingham (Reg. Evid., ii., p. 510). For Newton Longueville, however, the College had to pay a total sum of £648 14s. 5d.

CARDINAL BEAUFORT: Gift of vestments, 1447.

JOHN RUSSELL (F. 1449), Bishop of Bath and Wells, and Lincoln: £100 for a morning Mass.

THOMAS JANNE (F. 1456), Doctor of Canon Law, Bishop of Norwich: Lands in Curtlington, 1494.

THOMAS HOLMAN, citizen of Oxford: £40 for a morning Mass.

CLEMENT HARDYNG, B.C.L. (F. 1481): Lands in Burton (Berks) and Wanborough (Wilts), 1507.

WILLIAM WARHAM, D.C.L., Archbishop of Canterbury: Lands in Kingsclere (Hants), 1509; silver weighing 144 ounces; Towers lands in Swalcliffe, lands in Hampton, etc., now sold; also many valuable books.

ROBERT SHIREBOURNE (F. 1474), Bishop of Chichester: Lands at Harrow and Great Wycombe, for a morning Mass to be celebrated by a Fellow, and served by a scholar; also for 'Wiccamical Prebends in the Church of Chichester which must be held by Wyckhamists.'

JOHN PHIPPS (F. 1509): lands (now sold) in Hempton, Deddington, and Barford.

THOMAS WELLS, D.D., chaplain to Archbishop Warham and Rector of Heyford Warren: a rent-charge for exhibition of 40s. a year each to three Priest-Fellows, 1524.

JOHN SMYTH, burgher of Ipswich: Lands in Birchanger and elsewhere in Herts and Essex; £4 per annum to each of three Priest-Fellows, 1528.

WILLIAM FLESHMONGER, D.C.L. (F. 1498), Dean of Chichester: Manor of Sheringhall in Tackley (Essex), 1528, to give exhibition of £1 each to eight Fellows; contributed to purchase of Stanton St. John, near Oxford, on condition of exhibition of £1 each to twelve Fellows, 1534.

THOMAS MYLLYNG (F. 1490), Rector of Heyford Warren: £200 towards Stanton St. John, on condition of exhibition of £2 each to two Fellows, 1533.

JOHN WHITE (F. 1527), Headmaster, afterwards Warden of Winchester, then Bishop of Winchester: Manor of Hall Place, Southampton, on condition of 13s. 6d. being given to each Fellow on his admission, 1558.

RICHARD READE (F. 1559 or 1579): £5 a year, and £20 a year to the Junior Civilian on Good Friday; also his books on Canon and Civil Law.

HENRY BAILEY (F. 1566): Left the Blue Boar in St. Aldate's (sold in 1824), 1566.

CHRISTOPHER RAWLINS, D.D. (F. 1537), Vicar of Adderbury: Lands in Lincolnshire subject to a trust to build and maintain a free school at Adderbury; residue to be distributed among Fellows, 1589.

GEORGE RYVES (F. 1580), Warden of Winchester: £10 per annum to provide a sermon in chapel on Trinity Sunday, and to pay those taking part in Dr. Ryves' disputation.

LETTICE WILLIAMS, widow and executrix of Thomas Williams (F. 1640): Rent-charge of £12 2s. 2d. per annum for Fellows preaching sermons (1) at St. Paul's Cross, (2) in chapel on November 5, (3) in Winchester Chapel on November 5; and to three of the children at Winchester delivering annual oratories in College (1) in praise of the founder, (2) of James I. and Queen Elizabeth, and (3) to welcome the Warden and opposers at election time.

ARTHUR LAKE (F. 1589), Warden, and Bishop of Bath and Wells: £10 per annum to endow certain lectures, 1616.

JOHN DUMMER (F. 1644), Rector of Hardwicke: 40s. every year for a sermon on January 30 in honour of that great and glorious martyr King Charles I., 1689.

ROBERT PINK, Warden: Advowson of Wootton, near Woodstock, 1647.

LAWRENCE ST. LOE (F. 1669): Estate to purchase advowson, etc., 1674.

MICHAEL WOODWARD, D.D., Warden and Rector of Brightwell (Berks): Left tithes of Berkley Park and Black Quarters (Oxon) worth £40, £300 in money, and Mackney Farm in Brightwell, subject to annual payment of £80 to his relations, £20 to the chaplains, £5 to the library, 20s. to the librarian, £3 10s. to a preacher in chapel on Lady Day, £1 10s. for a solemn prayer in Hall at dinner-time in memory of founder and benefactors, 20s. to Warden and posers; also exhibitions to his kinsmen (p. 266); also 500 volumes to the library—1675.

SIR WILLIAM PERKINS: £200 in augmentation of Marshfield, 1723.

NICHOLAS ASPINALL, M.A., Rector of St. Peter's, Bedford: £100 capital for exhibition at Oxford of a boy from Bedford School, 1729.

MR. PENTON: £100 for augmentation of small livings, 1728.

DR. BACKSHALL: Estate of Hobjohn's Farm to be sold, 1747, and the proceeds to be divided between the two St. Mary Winton Colleges.

HENRY COKER (F. 1731): £100 to repair and beautify two windows on north side of chapel nearest the organ, and £100 to buy an advowson, 1749.

DR. PHILIP BARTON (F. 1739 ?): A collection of coins, 1764; £100, 1791.

NICHOLAS PRESTON (F. 1721), of Alton Barnes: £3,000 to certain chaplains 'most deserving for their morality and learning,' 1774.

CHARLES PARROTT (F. 1732), Rector of Saham Tony; £2,300 to provide for schoolmaster and education

of twelve poor boys at Wootton; £1,300 for widows in almshouse at Marshfield; £2,000 to buy lands for Warden; addition to glebe of Saham Tony—1785.

Robert Lowth (F. 1731), Bishop of London: Copyright of his 'Life of Wykeham.'

John Eyre (F. 1741): £300 to finish west window of chapel, 1761.

Philip Bury Duncan (F. 1792): £150 for repairing antechapel 1839; £1,000; ob. 1863.

John Eastwick (F. 1808): £689 6s. 1d. applied to restoration of hall; ob. 1862.

Mrs. Dell, widow of the Rev. John Dell (F. 1775): £1,000 for the augmentation of small livings, 1857.

Jeffrey Ekins (F. 1823): MSS., medals and relics of Sir Isaac Newton; ob. 1872.

Robert Ball (F. 1571): Advowson of Bucknell, 1610.

John Carey (F. 1714): four houses in Gerard Street, Westminster, to increase the emoluments of the Warden, and £100 to the College, 1764.

John Taylor (F. 1736): £600 for various purposes, 1779.

F.—THE JUNIOR COMMON-ROOM

The junior common-room at New College may claim to be the oldest in Oxford. The establishment of a senior common-room about 1680 naturally led to a desire for a similar institution for the use of the other members of the College—*i.e.*, the probationers and the junior Fellows under the degree of M.A. Accordingly, when the garden quadrangle was built in 1682, its first wing was devoted to the purposes of a junior common-room, and the two rooms have continued to be thus occupied, except for a short period after 1853, when the lower room was taken by the College as a lecture-room. The written records of

the junior common-room begin in 1793, and the first entry is as follows:

'Here Mr. Blackstone gave up his Stewardship and balanc'd his account to me his successor, Sydney Smith, April 11th, 1793.'

Sydney Smith's term of office as steward was very brief, for the next entry reads:

'May 4th Smith gave up the Stewardship to me, J. Wickham.'

His name is the most distinguished on the roll of stewards of the junior common-room, but the list also contains the names of Augustus W. Hare, Chief Justice Erle, Sir Edward Wingfield, Dr. Wickham (now Dean of Lincoln), and Mr. A. O. Prickard (Fellow since 1866). A few of the rules of the junior common-room, made at various dates, possess some interest. The revival of the practice of smoking among members of the University had assumed such proportions in 1833 that a rule was passed 'that no member be allowed to smoke in the upper room at any time, neither in the lower room until 5 o'clock p.m.' As late as the middle of the century fines for breaches of common-room rules were paid in wine—*e.g.*, for abusive language, one dozen of claret; for appearing 'in either room in deshabille (*i.e.*, either undressed or in dressing-gown or slippers), half a dozen of wine;' and the same penalty for 'wearing any other coat at dinner or wine except a tailed coat or a frock coat.' (Some years later any black coat was permitted.)

The increase in the number of undergraduates brought the junior common-room into a new relation to the College, and the question of its continuance was for some time under discussion. In 1869-70 it was placed on a new basis, on which it has continued to exist.

G.—NEW COLLEDGE PUDDINGS*

For one duzon take a penny halfe penny white bread and grate it and put to that halfe a pound of beefe suett minced small half a pound of curantes one nutmeg and salt and as much creame and eggs as will make it almost as stiffe as past then make you in the fashon of an egg, then lay them into the dish that you bake them in one by one with a quarter of a pound of butter melted in the bottom, then set them over a cleare charcole fire and cover them, when they are browne turne them till they are browne all over, then dish them into a cleane dish, for yr sause take sack suger rose water and butter pour this over yr. puddings and scrape over fine suger and serve them to the table.

H.—ATHLETICS†

Until the establishment of the College on a wider basis, the place taken by it in University contests could not be very important, but its efforts, even under these difficult conditions, are very creditable; and the growth of the number of undergraduates gave it a new opportunity of excelling in these respects.

Rowing.

The College put an eight on the river in 1840 and in 1852, but it is only since 1868 that it has been continuously represented. It has been 'head of the river' in the eights on six occasions, in 1887, from 1896-1899 inclusive, and in

* *Circa* 1700.

† The rowing record of the College has been kindly contributed by Mr. H. Henniker-Heaton, and the cricket record by Mr. M. H. FitzGerald.

1901 ; head of the Torpids in 1882, 1896, 1900, and 1901 ; and it won the O.U.B.C. fours in 1888, 1890, and from 1894-1898 (inclusive).

NEW COLLEGE BLUES.

W. F. Short, 1853-1855.
G. Bennett, 1856.
F. M. Beaumont (cox.), 1877-1879.
H. M. Robinson, 1879.
G. C. Bourne, 1882, 1883.
D. H. Maclean, 1884-1887 (President O.U.B.C. 1884-1885).
H. Maclean, 1885-1887 (President 1887).
S. R. Fothergill, 1888.
A. Stewart (cox.), 1888.
F. C. Drake, 1889.
Lord Ampthill, 1889-1891 (President 1890).
J. P. Heywood-Lonsdale (cox.), 1889-1892.
C. H. Hornby, 1890.
C. M. Pitman, 1892-1895 (President 1894-1895).
J. A. Morrison, 1893, 1894.
W. E. Crum, 1894-1897 (President 1895-1896).
T. H. E. Stretch, 1894, 1895.
C. K. Philips, 1895-1898 (President 1897).
C. P. Serocold (cox.), 1895.
J. J. J. de Knoop, 1896, 1897.
G. O. C. Edwards, 1897, 1898.
R. O. Pitman, 1898, 1899.
C. E. Johnston, 1899, 1900.
R. Culme-Seymour, 1900, 1901.
A. de L. Long, 1901.
James Younger, 1901.

In spite of the small numbers of the College, cricket flourished from a very early date, owing to the Winchester connection. In the fifteen years after the matches with Cambridge began to be played continuously, there was a New College captain eight times, the earliest being the present Warden of Winchester. Nor has the College ever been without a creditable eleven since college matches began.

NEW COLLEGE CRICKET BLUES.

G. B. Lee, 1838, 1839 (Captain, 1839).
R. A. Bathurst, 1838, 1839.
N. Darnell, 1838-1840.
J. Coker, 1840, 1842-1844 (Captain 1842, 1843).
H. E. Moberly, 1842-1845.
P. Williams, 1844-1847.
V. C. Smith, 1844-1847 (Captain 1846, 1847).
A. Ridding, 1846-1850.
R. J. Bateman, 1846-1848.
W. Ridding, 1849, 1850, 1852, 1853 (Captain 1849, 1850, 1852).
Hon. W. S. Wykeham-Fiennes, 1856-1858.
G. Bennett, 1856.
R. Digby, 1867-1869.
N. G. Tylecote, 1874-1877.
H. Fowler, 1877, 1879, 1880.
H. R. Webbe, 1877-1879.
F. G. Jellicoe, 1877, 1879.
A. P. Wickham, 1878.
T. R. Hine Haycock, 1883, 1884.
E. H. Buckland, 1884-1887.
A. R. Cobb, 1886.
H. W. Forster, 1887-1889.
H. Philipson, 1887-1889 (Captain 1889).

W. D. Llewelyn, 1890, 1891.
H. C. Bradby, 1890.
R. T. Jones, 1892.
F. H. E. Cunliffe, 1895-1898 (Captain 1898).
G. E. Bromley-Martin, 1897, 1898.
F. W. Stocks, 1898, 1899.

I.—COLLEGE CUSTOMS

Singing at St. Bartholomew's Hospital.

The pensioners of St. Bartholomew's Hospital, near Oxford, had been accustomed to receive alms from the crowds who flocked to the hospital on St. Bartholomew's Day to receive the benefit of a forty days' indulgence which had been granted by the Bishop of Lincoln in 1336 to all who should worship and bring oblations. The effect of the Reformation was to put an end to these pilgrimages, and the brothers of St. Bartholomew were thus reduced to absolute want. The Fellows of New College devised a method to relieve their necessities by singing at the hospital. St. Bartholomew's Day had now acquired an unhappy association, and Ascension Day was selected in preference. A similar performance seems also to have taken place on May Day.* Wood's account of the custom is as follows ('Life and Times,' vol. i., p. 289):

'There was sometime an auntient custome belonging to New College fellows: viz., on Holy Thursday every year some of the fellows of New College (with some of their acquaintance with them) did goe to St. Bartholomew's Hospitall, and there in the chappell sing an anthem of

* Wood says: 'New College men made choice of Holy Thursday because Magdalene College men and the rabble of the town came on May Day to their disturbance.'

2 or 5 parts. After that, every one of them would offer up money in a bason, being sett for that purpose in the middle of the chappell. After that, have some refreshment in the house. Then going up to a well or spring in the grove, which was strew'd with flowers round about for them, they sung a song of 5 parts, lately one of Mr. Wilbye's principium, "Hard by a christall fountaine."* And after that come home by Cheyney Lane and Hedington Hill, singing catches. The choristers and singing men of New College did about 2 or 3 o'clock in the morning sing an anthem on the tower; and then, from thence to St. Bartholomew's.'

Wood adds in a note (December, 1659): 'By the prevalence of Presbytery these customes vanish.' There is no trace of a revival of the custom after the Restoration, and Hearne, writing in 1729, speaks of it as having been long in desuetude (vol. cxxi., p. 49).

Sermons, etc.

Warden Ryves left a sum of £3 a year for a University sermon to be preached in New College on Trinity Sunday; and Warden Woodward a sum of £3 10s. for a sermon on Lady Day. The University sermon on these days is still preached in New College Chapel. If the preacher is not a Fellow of the College, the emolument is increased to about double the endowment. Poynter, in his book on Oxford (1749), speaks of these sermons as being 'preached in the outward chapel of this College.' It was once customary to have a special sermon on 'Gunpowder Treason Day,' and on January 30, and to have 'two speeches spoken yearly, 1st, on the Founder's Commemora-

* From Thomas Morley's 'Madrigals: the Triumphs of Oriana.' London, 1607.

tion, in Praise of the Founder; the other in Commendation of Queen Elizabeth and King James I.' Poynter mentions also a custom in his day 'of having English Essays performed by the Undergraduates of this College, in the outward Chapel after Prayers, before the Warden and Fellows.'

Miscellaneous.

An old monastic way of waking men in the morning was by striking the door with a mallet. This was also the mode of summoning Fellows to a college meeting. It is still practised at New College before the quarterly 'Stated General Meeting,' the porter going round and knocking at the bottom door of each staircase in which a Fellow lives.

Cox, in his 'Recollections of Oxford,' mentions that 'in 1802, and for many years after, there was still a curious mode of summoning the members to dinner at New College by the agency of two little choristers, who at a stated minute started from the College gateway, shouting in unison and in lengthened syllables: "Tem-pus-est vo-can-di à-man-ger, O Seig-neurs."* It was their business to make this sentence (itself a remnant of older times) *last out* till they reached with their final note the College kitchen.' Since about 1830 this custom has been superseded by the ringing of a bell in the tower.

A curious privilege of New College men was the right to be entertained at a college of Salamanca, founded by Molinus, who, as Spanish Ambassador, had been handsomely entertained by the College in February, 1666 (N.S.). A Fellow named Trenchard went to Salamanca and availed himself of this privilege in 1677. The

* Poynter's 'Oxford' (1749) gives the word thus: 'Eat-Mancheat-Toat-Seni-Oat.'

college, unfortunately, perished during the Napoleonic wars.

It was customary in the eighteenth century to present each of the College tenants who had paid his rent before Christmas with a pair of white gloves edged with red ribbon (Poynter's 'Oxford,' p. 48).

K.—THE LIBRARY

A list of books presented by the founder to the Library of New College is preserved in the 'Liber Albus' of the College, and has been printed and edited by Mr. A. F. Leach in the third volume of 'Collectanea' of the Oxford Historical Society (pp. 213-244). The gift included about 240 volumes, a large proportion of which were theological. Of this large number, only twenty-seven volumes remain; the others probably suffered along with Duns Scotus and Thomas Aquinas (*cf.* Chapter V.). Later donors of MS. volumes were W. Read, Bishop of Chichester, Walter Skyrlowe, Bishop of Durham, Warden Bowke, Archbishop Warham, John Wykeham, Thomas Burton (F. 1398), John Elmer (F. 1386), William Porter, William Pakett (F. 1430), and Bishop Bekington. The earliest donor of a collection of printed volumes seems to have been Arthur Lake, Bishop of Bath and Wells, who in 1617 presented about 500 volumes; in 1623 Thomas Hopper (F. 1593) gave about 400 volumes; and Wardens Pinke and Woodward bequeathed respectively about 170 and 600 volumes. Single volumes were given as early as 1479, when Richard Mason (? Fellow 1453) gave 'Margaritum Poeticum, Romæ, 1475.' Money gifts occur occasionally, and are usually of a small amount. Warden Woodward left an annuity of £5 a year, and similar annuities were left by

Warden Gauntlett and Osborne Wright (F. 1775). From 1735 onwards degree money seems also to have been used for the purchase of books, and, owing to occasional benefactions and fines, the income of the Library varies from £20 to £100 during the middle of the eighteenth century, and early in the nineteenth it came to be regularly about £120, as it now remains.

The Library contains a considerable number of MSS., none, however, of first-rate importance. Among the more valuable is a commentary on the Nicomachean Ethics of Aristotle (Michaelis Ephesii in Ethicorum librum quintum expositio), which was lent to Heylbut for his edition of the Scholia (Comm. in Arist., vol. xx.). Professor Bywater, who was the first to make use of the MS., informs us that there is a companion volume in the library of Corpus Christi College; that both manuscripts were written in Reading (*circa* 1497), where the Abbot of Reading kept a wandering Greek, John Serbopulos, to make transcripts of Greek MSS.

The few valuable printed works in the possession of the College include the first printed Aristotle.

L.—PROGRESS

New College is one of the few Colleges in which an annual 'Progress' still takes place. The Warden (or Sub-warden), accompanied by a Fellow known as 'Out-rider' (*i.e.*, Rider-out), and the Steward, visits the farms on some part of the College estates. These 'Progresses' used to be of much importance, since it was by this means that the rents were collected, the fines fixed for putting new names into copyholds, trees selected for felling, etc. They are now little more than a formality, though they still serve to keep up

some kind of connection between the College and its tenants, and to give the Fellows in turn some knowledge of the College property. At places where the Warden and Fellows are Lords of the Manor, the Steward holds a manorial court, at which a homage is solemnly sworn, inquiry made about the deaths of copyhold tenants, etc. As tenants can now be admitted out of Court, and as the College is refusing to renew its copyholds for lives, there is now little, and will soon be nothing, for these picturesque tribunals to do. Small sums are paid by the 'Out-rider' to the bell-ringers, farm-servants, etc., which are known as 'regards.'

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